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20 APRIL 1987

USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS



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USSR REPORT

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

PRAVDA READERS AIR VIEWS ON LEADER ELECTIONS

PM061615 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 March 1987 First Edition carries on page 2 under the rubric "There Is Plenty To Discuss" and the headline "Democracy--The Main Highway" a selection of readers' letters on aspects of the application of democratic and other principles in the election of leadership cadres, including the following:

CPSU member Yu. Solovyev, a worker from Volzhskiy, Volgograd Oblast, writes: "Indifference toward people has become the rule for certain economic managers and party leaders. They have evidently forgotten who put them at the helm.

"We are frequently doing harm to ourselves by putting forward such leaders, taking into account some of their qualities--usually their initiative, energy, and willpower--while disregarding the main thing--their attitude to people. It also happens that we vote for a candidate who has been put forward without weighing up all the 'pros' and 'cons.' We tell ourselves: 'They know better at the top.' However, the reverse is true. Disregard for consultation with the masses is precisely what brought about this situation.

"What conclusion is to be drawn from this? Above all, every one of us must begin the restructuring process starting with himself and tolerating no slackening. If you have made mistakes, you must learn to correct them. That is simply your obligation, your duty. This is what life itself demands, this is what the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum demand.

"Nothing but honesty and principledness! There is no room for complacency and indifference!"

K. Abdulov, deputy chief of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee Science and Education Establishments Section, writes from Dushanbe:

"For me as a young official in the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee apparatus the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum was a special lesson. A lesson of trust placed in enterprising, honest, and principled officials. A lesson of exactingness toward those who do not like renewal. Let me tell you what conclusions are being drawn from this lesson in our republic.

"In the recent past cadres were appointed proceeding from administrative or technocratic positions. Such leader qualities as his or her ideological and

theoretical horizon and political maturity, moral principles, and ability to persuade and lead people were not always taken into account. Meanwhile party leaders capable only of issuing orders and unwilling to attend to people's needs and requests applied themselves solely to economic tasks, took over the work of soviet organs, and assumed functions which were not their own.

"The technocratic, administrative style of work based on pressuring people inflicted considerable damage on the party's cause, especially its work with people, which is what is most important in the party's activities.

"To this day there are cases of apparatus officials trying to order about members of party committees elected by communists. We must fully restore the Leninist tradition according to which no executive organ, and much less its apparatus, has the right or the opportunity to supplant an elected organ or to dictate to it. It is necessary to galvanize members of elective organs into activity, allowing for openness in their work.

"I am in favor of the idea that secretaries, including first secretaries, be elected by secret ballot at plenary meetings of the relevant party committees. This will make it possible to enhance the responsibility of secretaries to the party committees which elected them. I consider it expedient to have several candidates rather than just one on the ballot papers to be used in the secret ballots."

Under the same rubric and the headline "From Positions of Civic Duty" the paper carries another selection of readers' letters, including the following:

A. Demskiy, a worker at the "Fosforit" Production Association in Kingisepp, Leningrad Oblast, writes:

"Tell my why society and the state should tolerate idle, loafing 'parasites in office.' And not just tolerate them, but pay them for their idleness, sluggishness, and bureaucratism. These people are hampering the restructuring and we are encouraging them by paying them high salaries and even bonuses.

"It is well known that cuts in the management apparatus in the past were confined in the main to the lower echelons while ministries, main administrations, and trusts were bursting at the seams.

"Anywhere, in any sector, an apparatus is needed. But it should be compact, conscientious, and highly efficient."

V. Boldurin, a stoker from Sol-iletsk, Orenburg Oblast, writes:

"Let us look the truth in the eye. I mean as regards electing leaders. There are still many enterprises, organizations, and shops in our country where the application of this innovation may, in my view, have far from good consequences.

"Let me cite an example from my shop. I work as a stoker in the boiler house shop of a salt mine. Personally, I have heard conversations about foremen

along the following lines more than once: 'Let's see what he is like. If he 'clamps down' too much, we will soon get rid of him and elect someone else-- nothing could be easier now.' And they will elect someone else if the foreman does not turn a blind eye to everything, if he does not cover for drunkards, absentees, if he does not write out fictitious job orders.

"For this reason, I believe, the question of democratic elections of leading personnel is not yet acceptable everywhere; not in all collectives are people ready for self-management. Party committees must help them to deal with the demagogues, to establish order, to improve conscious discipline. Only then can broad election principles be introduced."

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CSO: 1800/446

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IZVESTIYA READERS WRITE ON LEADER ELECTIONS

PM121657 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 March 1987 Morning Edition carries on page 3 under the headline "main Topic" a roundup of readers' letters on the subject of restructuring. The editorial introduction states:

"It is natural that pride of place in the editorial mailbag these days goes to letters linked with what we meaningfully call 'restructuring' and with the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum. To say that the letters approve its decisions is not saying much. They ponder the essence of the changes taking place in the country, the work of restructuring, and the place and duty of everyone in the renovation of our life. As was to be expected, they express different views and different standpoints.

"Some note with satisfaction that 'the party and I think as one.'

"Others realize that nowadays approbatory words are not enough: 'With our own hands we must make even a small contribution' to the cause of restructuring.

"Others are worried about whether it will be possible to complete what has been begun: 'The opposition to society's renovation is too great.'

/But everyone is convinced that it is no longer possible to imagine our life without restructuring, democracy, openness, and social justice./ [sentence within slantlines published in boldface]

Under the headline "Recognizing the Boldness of 'Unaccommodating People'" geologist and CPSU member Yu. Cheshenko of Moscow writes in part:

"Although there have been gratifying changes in cadre policy one still meets leaders for whom the most important thing is their own ego. If one can put it this way, they are change-resistant and super-survivors--they felt O.K. during the 'voluntarism' period and during the '5-year plan of quality,' and now they are also O.K. at a time of acceleration.... How one would like to 'remove' them from their seats of power, or at least demand that they publicly disavow their old leadership methods.

"That is why I do not really believe that such 'all-weather' leaders can restructure themselves. After all, in order to do so one has to break with one's former self, and in such cases recurrences of the management methods currently

being rejected are inevitable. At the moment, of course, they hide the fact that they do not accept restructuring, while in public vigorously beating their palms and wagging their fingers. All the more so because they do not find it difficult--after all, they have always been 'in favor of.' True, under the new conditions they are not trying to guess the will of their 'superiors' but to win the support of those like them. After all, by acting in unison it is easier to stifle decisions even from the very top. In short, I am sure that 'all-weather' leaders will go to their graves opposing all the glowing changes in our life. All their lives they have cringed and maneuvered, so are they supposed to suddenly change just before the end? Should they resign? But how can they leave their position and everything it provides?...

"Of course, there were many real, steadfast, and convinced leaders in the past. They do not need to restructure themselves now, they have always been geared to great deeds and boldly opposed any farfetched doctrines or strident campaigns unrelated to life, whether they seemed appropriate at the time or not. They were not scared to oppose both general epidemic and collective delusion, and they built their lives doing so. Do we, today's people, know these people? Do we know the way they lived and struggled yesterday in order to bring us victory in restructuring today? Room must be found for them in our newspapers and their courage recognized. And today's versions (of such people!) must be given a hearing. Without this we will not be able to restructure our consciences or elevate our spirits to great deeds.

"We communists must now make every effort to regenerate the former revolutionary spirit in everyone--and then the changes will be irreversible."

CPSU member M. Kushnarev of Kasimov, Ryazan Oblast, writes in part under the headline "Silence Following Criticism":

"I want to share something that keeps troubling me. The changes taking place in our country's life cannot fail to be felt: One need only open a newspaper or switch on the radio or TV. That is one thing. But on the other hand, if you look around it is as if the new life is bypassing our city."

A. Fedorchuk of Yevpatoriya writes under the headline "As Long As This Period Continues":

"I am writing these lines after reading the materials of the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum. It relieved me and--no doubt--many other people of the burden of worrying thoughts and answered troublesome questions. I would just like to go to the party gorkom and ask them to alter from spring 1963 to spring 1986 my membership as recorded in my party card. Thank you, destiny, for allowing me to live at a wonderful time. I just hope it continues. I just hope the old ways do not return."

Worker V. Tolok of Krivoy Rog writes under the headline "They Talk New-Style But Work Old-Style":

"I am worried about what will happen to the restructuring process. This is shy. I studied at school and at an institute when all you could hear was three

hearty cheers everywhere. Consequently I reacted wholeheartedly to the 27th Party Congress. At last! We had gotten down to getting the country out of its stagnation. Yet the same people who had shouted 'the economy must be economic' and mired the country in economic stagnation remained in local leadership positions. For 20 years they gave us paper milk to drink and paper meat to eat--and they applauded themselves. Now they no longer shout about that, now it is the norm to use words such as 'acceleration' and 'restructuring.' But they work in the old way. And they make no bones about it. They are waiting for everything to die down. That is why when a guy at work asked me recently 'do you believe in acceleration?' I initially wanted to say 'Yes' with confidence. But then I thought about it--who was I kidding, him or me? And I said 'I don't know.'

"I believe in M.S. Gorbachev and in his intelligence and desire to get our great country on its feet. But how hard that will be! How can I help, what can I do? Those thoughts keep worrying me. I want my sons to live well. I want with my own hands to make my own small contribution to our prosperity. (I mean the country's, not my family's.)

"On the whole, I would really like to have faith in the restructuring process, but I see different examples before me...."

Land reclamation worker B. Chertushkin of Chistenkoye Village, Simferopolskiy Rayon, Crimea, writes under the headline "According to Talent, Not Questionnaires":

"It was rightly stated at the plenum that nonparty people must be brought more into leading work. Why, for instance, should local gorkoms or raykoms, or a trade union gorkom--not to mention plant, institute, and kolkhoz committees--not be headed by someone who is not a party member? There have been examples of this, but they are the exception. It is no secret that some people join the party out of careerist motives. As long as talented people are held back by careerists there is no point even thinking about restructuring."

B. Fomskiy of Kovel, Volyn Oblast, writes in part, under the heading "Elected, Not appointed":

"In order to avert the errors of the past, I would add another yardstick to those that have already been outlined. Public opinion polls should constantly be taken on important questions of party and government policy. On key problems of society's development it would not be out of place to hold nationwide referendums, rather than restricting ourselves to polemics in mass media organs."

V. Bagriy of Kiev writes under the headline "Men of Action Versus Windbags":

"Why do the radio, press, and TV, which unite us every day in an audience of millions, play such a small role in election campaigns? Candidates submitted on voting lists should be given the right to speak through mass media organs and this practice should be made mandatory. Deputies should know what they are talking about--that is, they should have a program of action and be able to debate, persuade, and convince.

"but in so doing we must be concerned to ensure that the people elected are not prattlers or windbags, but people of action--be they workers, party organization secretaries, or enterprise directors. If we start artificially concealing proportions or getting up in arms about unexpected changes in the representation of certain social groups in elective organs, we will ruin things."

Under the heading "Where Bureaucrats Come From" P. Stromenko of Valki writes in part:

"I am afraid that the plenum decisions will not be implemented. The opposition to the renovation of society is too great. Sensing danger, bureaucrats have closed ranks and adopted an all-around defense."

Finally, B. Zamyslov of Kharkov writes in part:

"It will take many years to put a stop to that legacy of the past which has weighed us down--bureaucratism, bribery, irresponsibility, and old-boy networks. The main thing is not to relax the struggle."

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

TRADE UNIONS ATTACKED FOR FAILING TO PROTECT WORKERS

Tallinn NOORTE HAAL in Estonian 26 Feb 87 p 2

[Article--"The Changes Are There But Are They Enough?"]

[Excerpts] At the end of January this year, the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee took place. It made a start in the renewal of organizational foundations of Soviet society. A week later the draft constitution of the USSR trade unions was published, with certain alternations compared to the existing one.

It is natural to expect that these two events--the plenum of the party cadres and the trade unions congress--are closely linked. It seems, however, that the necessary link is missing. The authors of the suggested alterations in the trade union constitution certainly had no opportunity to proceed from the standpoints of the January plenum of the party. Also, the preparation for the congress could hardly take place in the new spirit; even if for the reason alone that the republic congresses also took place earlier. So it would be precipitous to view the changes to be made at the trade union congress in the constitution and in the management organs as a further step on the path of restructuring, as a guarantee that the reorganization which has been started, will be carried through and that previous mistakes will not be repeated. The envisaged changes can rather be considered as an example of the conclusion drawn at the January plenum of the CPSU Central Committee to the effect of "the braking mechanism being demolished slowly."

Has anybody analyzed the role of the trade union and its central organs in the braking mechanism, stoppage ideology and stoppage psychology of the development of Soviet society? Have the trade union organs which should most directly express the interests of the working people, ever publicly made a stand against the negative trends in the management of the economy? The people after all saw all this every day. And so the stagnation of the Soviet society took place with the full approval and support of the trade union organs. Consequently, the present organizational arrangement of the trade union work does not allow for the workers either to express or to defend their interests.

The party central organs have drawn very resolute conclusions about the situation which has prevailed up to now and its reasons and has taken the front position in the acceleration of the development of Soviet society. There is

little reason to claim the same for the trade unions. On the contrary, some alterations and additions to the constitution demonstrate that only apparent innovations are being made while leaving in fact everything fundamentally as it was. Let us look closer at these problems.

In the resolutions of the January plenum of the CPSU Central Committee it is claimed that trade union workers would stand "for the interests of a working person, a collective." In the trade union constitution this aim has also been set up, only it is not sufficiently or persistently pursued. Anybody who has more seriously analyzed the activity of the trade unions up to now, has to unfortunately draw a similar conclusion to Siim Kallas' who wrote in the RAH-VA HAAL of 19 February this year: the main task of the trade union committees is considered to be cooperation in the implementation of the administration's will. The protection of workers' interests is but a secondary task at best.

The constitution provides a complete ideological and legal justification for such a situation while listing the protection of the workers' interests and rights as but one of the nine main functions of the trade unions, without bringing forth a fundamental aim and the means for achieving it. In the trade unions' draft constitution, the first place in the list of the organization's functions goes to the development of economy, the protection of the workers' rights is but the fourth place.

And so, the aims of a person and those of production are indeed related to each other but are not to be equated. It is natural that production organizations will set production in the first place and the person in the second place. It would be to the same degree for the workers' own organization--trade union--to set a worker's interest in the first place.

If that were so, then several paradoxes would disappear. A job and a remuneration corresponding to it. And yet we know that the work of entire social groups does not meet with worthy remuneration. The question is first of all about the highly-qualified workers who produce spiritual assets for the society and ensure technical progress. The average salary of an engineer with higher education is lower than the average worker's salary. It would make sense to ask medical and cultural workers how they can manage to live on their salaries (it is better to keep quiet about maintaining the family). Where do poets obtain sustenance from, who prevents the spiritual hardening of people and who forms in them the ability to see the world differently, and in a new way? Our publishing policy is after all of the kind which does not even allow the most popular authors to manage to live on their royalties. (In this respect there are evidently positive changes expected, in connection with the regulation "On the improvement of the conditions of activity of the creative unions," recently adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers; q.v. RAHVA HAAL of 24 February-Ed). And if one talks at all about renewal, then a rationalization proposal with a small or medium effect may indeed result in more or less corresponding remuneration but a large one will not.

The question arises, why is the principle of correlation between work and remuneration applied only to a restricted section of the workers? How can those workers whose work does not find adequate remuneration, fight for their constitutional right?

Up to now the problem has been that workers have not had material and organizational conditions created for fruitful work. To work well and with full pressure has been materially detrimental in the conditions of levelling the salaries. Workers have lacked the opportunity to eliminate these arbitrary and detrimental restrictions. Why should not the trade union be this organization which helps the workers to eliminate these obstacles?

First of all, this should consist of the workers' participation in management. Only in such an organized struggle will the worker also develop politically. Only in case of organizing such a struggle can one talk about the trade union as the school of communism. If the workers' activity is directed only towards the fulfillment of production tasks, and not towards work relationships, then it is impossible as yet to speak seriously of any restructuring. Often the workers are told: you work now in a new way, then the salary officials will work out for you a salary in a new way. Is this then restructuring? Because previously it was so: one lot of people did the work and the others set their salary conditions. At the changeover to the new conditions of pay for work it is impossible for either the management of an enterprise or the trade union committee to have their say about the formation of norms for the salary fund. Higher salaried trade union organs which are not directly affected by the salary reform have always been eager to authorize the norms branches of industry and enterprises on behalf of all workers. This is but one example of how the trade unions management organs protect the interests of workers.

If the main aim of the trade unions was established as the expression and protection of the interests of workers, then it should also be clearly stated in the trade union constitution what means are allowed for achieving this aim... In principle, this set of means could be very broad (economical, organizational, legal, ideological, etc.). The main question is how to settle conflicts if the sides do not reach an agreement and maintain differing standpoints. All this is completely missing from the present constitution. Up to now, this part has not been necessary as the trade unions' leading organs depended relatively little on the workers whom they had to represent. And so one did not deal with two differing sides but two forms of existence of one and the same side.

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candidate of psychology

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CSO: 1815/22

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PRAVDA VIEWS RAYKOMS' ROLE IN RESTRUCTURING

PM131113 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 87 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Rayon Link. The Role of Party Raykoms in Restructuring"]

[Text] At the forefront--there is probably no better way to denote the place of the party raykom and gorkom in the restructuring which has gotten under way. This link is closest of all to labor collectives and their affairs and concerns. That is why the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum paid special attention to the need for changes in the work of raykoms and gorkoms, which directly implement the party's ties with its primary organizations and with urban and rural working people.

Today's living practice is already providing attractive examples of a creative approach to work in the rayon link. Thus, Pyarnuskiy Party Raykom in Estonia, having renounced superfluous conferences and sessions, relies more strongly on primary party organizations and the public councils set up in production zones. This has a beneficial effect on work with laggard kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Zonal councils, which unite the best specialists and the aktiv of three or four neighboring farms, help to get to the bottom of the reasons for laggardness, to organize patronage, and to apply useful experience of economic and educational work. There are things to learn from a number of Kharkov and Saratov raykoms, which successfully coordinate the joint actions of communists and of soviet, trade union, and komsomol organs in the course of introducing two- and three-shift working in enterprises.

Of course, these are just the first steps. As the facts convince us, the demands which restructuring makes on the rayon link have been realized far from everywhere. In some cases people are still deaf to innovations, have not stopped ordering people about, and cling stubbornly to obsolescent methods. In other cases, although they ardently set to work, they have no clear plan of action and soon "fizzle out," confining themselves to half-measures and sometimes even losing their presence of mind at the very first difficulties. It is no coincidence that a visible gap has formed between those who have moved resolutely ahead and who strive for improvement day by day and those who reorganize themselves only in words.

The predominance of administrative-economic methods remains one of the most vulnerable spots in raykom practice. Just what production matters does a

certain raykom not tackle--from the distribution of equipment and construction materials to the fixing of sowing and haymaking times. It is not for nothing that such a committee is sometimes called the "chief control room," and the secretary himself is called the "rayon director."

Whether such a style is of great benefit can be seen in the example of Ryazhskiy Raykom, whose work was recently discussed by Ryazan Party Obkom Bureau. When solving current economic questions it would take the place of the rayispolkom, the rayon agroindustrial association, and other local management organs. In this way it reduced their initiative and responsibility, hindering an all-round impact on life in the rayon. At the same time, the raykom lost sight of questions which require precisely a party-minded approach. No wonder the rayon is in a poor way as regards socioeconomic development, and many kolkhozes and sovkhoses are failing to cope with the plans for sales of agricultural products to the state.

It is the demand of the times to break with an obsolete style. Of course, this does not mean that a raykom or gorkom can now engage in some kind of "pure politics" and is entirely free of responsibility for growth in the economy and the social sphere. It is a question of something else. Being an organ of political leadership, it actively influences these spheres, but using its own methods peculiar to it. The committee's primary concern is to ensure close cooperation, the harmonious working of the entire diverse system or organs of state and economic management and of public organizations in the rayon and city, and their real participation in the restructuring process. How is this to be achieved? Above all by fundamentally improving cadre policy, taking the new demands into account.

Progress has already been made where the party raykom organizes the selection and placing of people on the basis of the democratization of all cadre work and makes skillful use of its authority to increase demands on the assigned task. Elections of raykom first secretaries by secret ballot from among several candidates have been greeted with interest. Elections of economic leaders--from team leader to director--are entering practice increasingly widely. Party committees are actively promoting this progressive process, reasonably perceiving it as a true means of developing the sense of being in charge, selecting the most able and competent organizers and educators, and enhancing mutual exactingness. But there are also plenty of instances where people on the raykom are wary of such innovations, react painfully to growing initiative from below, and regard it almost as a natural disaster. In such cases, as a rule, cadres of various links are consolidated slowly, young people are promoted grudgingly, and businesslike efficiency is lacking.

Raykom and gorkom members are constantly in the midst of the masses. And it is to them, primarily, that the demand of the 27th CPSU Congress applies--try to ensure that every working person profoundly understands the acute and crucial nature of the present time and participates consciously in restructuring. Everyone! This means that in organizational and educational work it is necessary to shift the emphasis decisively to individual forms, without getting carried away with "coverage" or general rosy statistics which sometimes cover up the specific situation in collectives. This task was also set in the recently adopted CPSU Central Committee resolution of Perm Party Obkom.

Primary party organizations are the committee's reliable mainstay in all initiatives. The energy, experience, and personal example of communists provide the best assistance in involving the entire collective in the restructuring process and finding and commissioning profound reserves. To ensure that all party cells operate with a high return, it is necessary to increase their strength and prestige in every possible way, without permitting complacency or the accumulation of stagnant phenomena. It is not a new truth, but, as previously, many committees limit themselves just to appeals, while in fact a considerable proportion of local links--precisely the weak ones--remains outside the field of vision.

Life itself teaches committees, enriching them with new approaches. Nonetheless, the raykom also needs assistance. Precisely what assistance? Of course, what it needs least of all are paper orders and prolix instructions. However, as can be seen from the editors' mailbag, people in some places are deflected onto this well worn track. Commissions still go to raykoms with the sole purpose of seeking out as many defects and "cooked" [zharenyy] facts as possible. True, writers report, there has been a reduction in the number of telephoned instructions and requests had doubled.

It is probably most important now to see in good time, correctly evaluate, and offer up the fragments of experience arising out of restructuring. These are points of a kind on which the raykom can rely in order to proceed more confidently. For example, the meeting of Moscow raykom secretaries organized recently by the party gorkom was useful according to the participants' comments. It made an exacting analysis of the first steps under the new conditions. In a number of instances on-the-spot trips by party obkom comprehensive teams produce an appreciable result.

Of course, there are no ready prescriptions for restructuring the leadership of the rayon and city link and the work of these committees. Experience will suggest a great deal. But one thing is indisputable: Assistance must direct this link toward living work among the masses, the organization of practical fulfillment of decisions and plans, and effective support and encouragement for initiative from below and for innovative questing.

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CSO: 1800/445

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

LISSR CC BUREAU DISCUSSES WOMEN'S AFFAIRS, RAIL TRANSPORT, LIVESTOCK

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 14 Jan 87 p 1

[Text] At its regular meeting the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau discussed the tasks of republic party organizations for improving work on women's affairs. During the discussion it was noted that women's soviets, which actively assist party organizations with ideological and political work concerning women's affairs and the involvement of women in the resolution of production, social and domestic tasks, have been established in all cities, rayons, large settlements and labor collectives. The soviets also promote the development of creative capabilities, the improvement of women's working and leisure conditions, and strengthening the family and raising children.

Meanwhile, women's soviets are still being included slowly in work on raising labor productivity and production quality, strengthening discipline, the struggle against drunkenness, unearned income, and parasitism and juvenile crime. Improvements in working conditions and the protection of women's health are being achieved inconsistently and inertia and indifference toward violations of maternity and childhood legislation are being poorly overcome. Women's soviets are not active enough in promoting work at home, particularly in cities and rayon centers.

The Bureau has instructed party gorkoms and raykoms and the republic women's soviet constantly to regard the work of women's councils as an important social force for raising women's labor and social activeness, to offer them comprehensive assistance in resolving problems to improve women's working, daily life and leisure conditions, to safeguard their interests and display an implacable attitude towards violations of legislation on matters of maternity and childhood and the protection of women's rights. Trade unions, soviet agencies and Komsomol organizations must achieve close cooperation with women's soviets and further the improvement of their activity. The activity of the women's movement must be supported and the promotion of women who have proven themselves in work in women's soviets should be facilitated. Women's soviets should be created as needed within the services of housing facilities in cities and rayons and women's work at home should be improved.

The progressive experience of women's soviets' work should be regularly distributed by the republic's mass information and propaganda means, and the

positive role of such soviets in the upbringing of women and children, in organizing women's work and leisure and in strengthening the family should be made known.

The LSSR women's soviet proposed holding the regular republic congress of women on 21 November 1987.

The matter of implementing the plan for freight transportation in the Vilnius and Shyauliyay departments of the Baltic railroad system was considered at the meeting. The LSSR Communist Party Central Committee Buro instructed the heads of ministries, departments and enterprises under union jurisdiction to eliminate shortcomings currently found in their work. The conformity of requisitions for the shipment of cars with the planned assignments must be ensured. Practical steps must be taken concerning the timely unloading of cars and the clearing of spur tracks. The directors of the Vilnius and Shyauliyay departments of the Baltic railroad system have been instructed to ensure the supply of cars to be loaded strictly according to the orders of freight dispatchers. The party organizations of ministries, departments, enterprises and organizations must institute constant control over the timely processing of rolling stock and the submission of freight for transport in accordance with the established plan.

The heads of ministries, departments and enterprises under union jurisdiction must be forewarned that henceforth strict measures will be taken against tardy submission of planned freight for transport and failure to unload cars at their subordinate enterprises.

Gorkoms, raykoms, gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms in a week's time must investigate the reasons for failure to submit planned freight for transport, for delays beyond the set norms for rolling stock in freight-hauling operations, and the overdue work to clear spur tracks. The Ministry of Automotive Transportation and Highways is expected to ensure timely removal of freight from railroad stations. The LSSR People's Control Committee shall inspect a number of industrial enterprises in regard to the correspondence of production plans with transportation plans.

The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and republic Council of Ministers made a decree in regard to raising the efficiency and improving the organization of pedigree matters in livestock-breeding. Gosagroprom, Goskomrybkhoz, and the Alitus and Kapsukas gorkoms and party raykoms, rayispolkoms and RAPO [Rayon Agroindustrial Associations] have been instructed to ensure the unconditional fulfillment of the plan approved by the 5th Plenum of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee on measures for further intensifying livestock-breeding, improving pedigree matters and reinforcing the fodder supply. Work to improve the pedigree and productive qualities of livestock and fowl must be intensified on the basis of organizational and economic reinforcement of pure-breed farming, intensification of fodder production and the broad use of achievements in genetics, selection and biotechnology. Intensive and goal-oriented breeding of purebred younger livestock, particularly purebred heifers, must be ensured on the basis of intra-farm specialization. Gosagroprom and the republic Ministry of Grain Products must organize the production of fully nutritious mixed feeds for

purebred highly productive livestock according to scientifically substantiated formulas and the provision of pure-breed farming, enterprises and control and testing stations with these feeds. Gosagroprom and its agencies must ensure fundamental on-site improvement of work on the reproduction of agricultural livestock, the breeding of high-quality young stock for the timely renewal and improvement of the basic herd and the use of pedigreed resources, as well as raising the efficiency of the work of pure-breed enterprises. Improvement of the livestock pedigree qualities in citizens' private subsidiary farms must be actively assisted. The population must be widely involved with breeding purebred livestock by contracts with kolkhozes, sovkhoses and other agricultural enterprises.

Other issues related to the republic's sociopolitical life were also discussed at the meeting.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

TuSSR: LOCAL SOVIETS FAIL TO HEED CITIZEN COMPLAINTS

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 11 December 1986 carries on page 1 a 1,000-word lead editorial headlined "The Soviets and Rebuilding." It points out that "we have to state that there are ispolkoms of local soviets that are not paying attention to citizens' petitions, proposals, wishes, and complaints. A basic mistake has been permitted in the Mary Rayispolkom's work style and approach to the cadre question. It is not clear where letters sent to the ispolkom are kept, and its treatment of workers' letters is unsatisfactory." The editorial also points out that at the Ashkhabad City Soviet ispolkom laws on the distribution of apartments have been violated. "In Proletar Rayon alone 40 vacant apartments have been discovered. These apartments have been kept secret from accountings because of greed."

QUALITY CONTROL METHODS NEED IMPROVEMENT

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 11 December 1986 carries on page 2 a 1,200-word article by T. Sakhetliyevev, an official of TuSSR Gosstandart, titled "Collectives Must Exert Themselves." He claims that "work directed at raising quality at the TuSSR Agroindustrial Committee, the Ministry of Construction, the Ministry of Local Industry, and others is proceeding too slowly. As in many of the republic's factories, officials in technical control departments are working in an outdated style. Factory leaderships are not thoughtfully rebuilding the structure of their technical control departments because those working in their offices do not receive salaries based on product quality but on the plan as a whole. In some of these departments the personnel are inexperienced and undemanding." He also claims that there is a shortage of modern measurement equipment.

SLOW PACE OF TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE CRITICIZED

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 14 December 1986 carries on page 1 a 1,000-word lead editorial headlined "Scientific-Technical Progress and Productivity." The editorial points out that "despite successes attained, the speeding up of scientific-technical progress, the job of putting advanced equipment and technology into production and the mechanization and automation of production is proceeding too slowly in

the republic. Between January and September of this year quotas for this important work were not reached by ministries and leading organizations." Cited especially in this regard are the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the Ministry of Grain Products, and the Ministry of Trade.

PERSONNEL CHANGES IN TURKMEN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM CONTINUE

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen on 24 December 1986 carries on page 1 a 1,000-word lead editorial headlined "The Leader's Reputation" highlighting personnel changes now being effected in Turkmenia's educational system. "In the last 2 years nine leading workers in people's education have been relieved of their positions for various acts. In Yoloten, Garagum, Bayramaly, and other rayons of the oblast those among the school leaderships who have been employed due to nepotism and favoritism have become a common occurrence. This is not a fact which adds to the reputation of school leaderships. Recently in Ashkhabad Oblast 19 school directors were relieved of their duties because of weaknesses in their leadership and the fact that study and educational work was not meeting the demands of the day. In Tashauz Oblast's night schools control over study and educational work had been weakened by school directors. They had permitted interference in the students' personal affairs. Thus, many of them were also relieved of their school directorships."

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

PROBLEMS NOTED IN UZBEK IDEOLOGICAL, RELIGIOUS, CADRE WORK

Tashkent PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN in Russian No 12, Dec 86 (signed to press 5 Dec 86) pp 9-14

[Unattributed article: "Purpose and Militancy in Ideological Work"]

[Text] Soviet society finds itself today at a sharp turning point in its history. By the end of the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's party and people were confronting in its full magnitude the task of undertaking thoroughgoing improvements in socialist society and of utilizing more fully and effectively the capacities and advantages of this society with the objective of continuing the advance toward communism. The objective requirements of the present phase of national development have found their fullest expression in the strategy, enunciated at the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and then adopted by the 27th Party Congress, of accelerating social and economic development, which in the final analysis anticipates the development of Soviet society to a qualitatively new stage.

What we mean by the term "acceleration," of course, is first and foremost an acceleration of the rate of economic growth. But the fact that our party has infused this concept with what is essentially a fundamentally new meaning elevates the concept of "acceleration" into the ranks of the major breakthroughs in Marxist-Leninist thought. For what we are speaking of here is indeed a new type of growth, that is, an all-round intensification of production on the basis of advances in science and technology, a structural reorganization of the economy, efficient modes of management and control and efficiently organized and motivated labor.

The focus on acceleration, however, does not come down simply to transformations in the economic sphere. It is also going to involve the implementation of an active social policy. The strategy of acceleration anticipates improvements in social relations, new forms and methods in the work of our political and ideological institutes, consistent affirmation of the principle of social justice and resolute efforts to overcome inertia, stagnation and conservatism — everything presenting an obstacle to social progress.

It should not be forgotten, however, that success in these efforts can be insured only with the active and conscious participation of the broad layers of society. This is why the party today regards the most critical aspect of the concept of acceleration to consist in the development of new approaches to the organization of ideological, vocational, professional and moral education, to efforts to bring this into an

organic unity with organizational and management functions and to the organization of purposeful efforts to cultivate the formation of a harmoniously developed individual capable of carrying out the party's creative program.

Remarkably, the party's innovative policy is already leaving its marks in the signs of the times. There is now extensive public discussion of the problems now requiring urgent attention. The Soviet people do not want to content themselves with what they have achieved to date, to continue thinking and acting in the established ways. The broadening masses of workers have enthusiastically involved themselves in the search for ways to increase production and improve the quality of what they produce and in efforts to reorganize, restructure the economic mechanism and mobilize internal resources in support of the drive for acceleration.

Changes are under way in all spheres of social life. In the economic sphere, for example, we have recently been observing the introduction of a series of important new measures dealing with the problems of progress in science and technology, management, the need to improve the economic mechanism and product quality and achieving economies in the consumption of resources. Steps taken to improve performance within the agro-industrial complex and place operations within light industry, commerce and construction and the material-technical supply system on a new footing are having a positive impact on the situation within the economy. This can be seen first and foremost in the fact that a number of work collectives have been able to bring about a fundamental change in a situation, lift themselves up out of the ranks of those who have fallen off the pace and now consistently meet established performance targets. This year, for the first time in many years, more than 900 enterprise collectives are meeting plan targets in all categories. Within the republic we are seeing increasing numbers of work collectives such, for example, as those at the Uchkurgan oil extraction plant, the Kuva furniture combine and the bakery in Bekabad, where no violations of labor discipline among workers is tolerated. The agricultural sector of the economy is also making headway in improving performance. This year saw a great many more picking machines in the cotton fields — with the result that, unlike the situation in years past, the crop in many oblasts and rayons was picked on schedule and without losses and plan targets for the first year of the Twelfth Five-Year-Plan period were met ahead of schedule. Livestock farms within the republic are undergoing reorganization and feed-preparation and hay-storage facilities and feedlots are being built at an accelerated pace.

Efforts are being intensified at all levels throughout the republic economy to achieve greater economies in the use of material resources, to make greater use of more effective forms of manpower organization and to introduce new incentive plans, all aimed at improving the end products of production activities. At the same time, however, we are seeing that efforts to place the economy on the intensification track are making headway only slowly and that a large number of work collectives have yet to engage themselves fully and wholeheartedly in the reorganization effort. In a number of work collectives the level of political activity has even fallen off to the point where it has now come virtually to a standstill. The 3d Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, which met October 4, 1986, links this by no means simple situation to some serious failures in ideological and political educational work which have occurred recently within the republic.

It must be said that breakdowns in ideological and political education have found expression in the fact that over the course of the past two decades scholarly works by social scientists and literary and artistic productions in our republic have been giving increasing scope to the idealization of the historical past and departures from the class point of view in evaluations of certain historical events and figures. This has led to a situation in which the patterns of routine conscious thought on the part of a substantial number of cadres have begun merging with religious dogma, that is, to what is in actual fact a compromise with religion. All this, taken together with a lack of clear direction in efforts to affirm the Soviet way of life and the principles of communist morality and a neglect of the social sphere, of the daily needs of the people for housing, medical, cultural and personal domestic services and good-quality, inexpensive consumer goods, among other things, has had distinctly negative effects on the education of the people and has led to the distortion of a number of popular, national customs and traditions and the development of hardened stereotypes in the consciousness of some of the people which run counter to the spirit of our society and which are eroding its moral foundations and evaluations of real-world situations and attitudes toward life.

After hearing and discussing the report by I. B. Usmankhodzhayev, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, dealing with the tasks of party organizations within the republic involving efforts to increase the effectiveness of ideological activities in light of requirements imposed by the 27th Congress of the CPSU, the central committee plenum observed that this burden of the past would be an obstacle to successful accomplishment of major new tasks and that to be able to bring about any fundamental change in the work of all our ideological institutes in light of the demands of the present day would require that we learn some lessons from the past.

As described in the new edition of the CPSU Program, the primary objective of the party's ideological effort consists in the formation of a harmoniously developed, socially active individual who combines spiritual wealth, moral purity and healthy physical development. That is, in the development of Soviet citizens with a thoroughgoing mastery of Marxist-Leninist thought, a more mature, elevated political philosophy, consciously participating in the elaboration of party policy and then in the implementation of that policy. For them to be able to think and work in new ways, which is the party's goal, is going to require in turn a major restructuring of the process by which we educate our people.

Unfortunately, however, as was underlined at the 3d Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, this effort has yet to get up to speed. Party committees and primary organizations have not uniformly committed themselves to an aggressive search for new ways to increase the effectiveness of programs aimed at providing the proper ideological temper in our cadres. Stagnant thinking, scholasticism and dogmatism have not yet been eradicated from the practical work of many of our scientific institutes, VUZ's and social science departments. It was therefore no accident that the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Party History of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan and the ministries of education and higher and secondary specialized education, which are not giving proper attention to the problem of upgrading work in the social sciences or insuring that social scientists work productively, no accident that these institutions were subjected to sharp criticism at the plenum.

For the fact is that the republic's academics have responded poorly to the party's call for social scientists to turn themselves in a major effort to concrete practical needs, to be alert and responsive to changes occurring in life. Can we really refer to as normal the fact that we still have no scientifically based forecasts of the development of productive forces, no accurate analysis of the status of manpower resources within the republic? And essentially we have no works focusing on the struggle of the republic party organization against gross violations of Leninist principles and standards of party life which have occurred, the causes of and ways to deal with negative phenomena and modes and methods of party work during the reorganization process. It was pointed out at the 3d Central Committee Plenum that over the course of the past several years the republic press, to include *PAKTIYA TURMUSHI* (*PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN*), has not published a single critical review of works by social scientists. The editors have drawn the proper conclusions from this entirely justifiable criticism and will begin to give even more extensive coverage to new thinking and new practices as illustrated in the experience of republic party organizations and bring the full truth about realities here to our reading audience.

To bring influence to bear on the spiritual world of our citizens is of exceptional importance today. Under conditions in which the party and our people are engaged in efforts to accomplish fundamentally new historical tasks, our mass media and propaganda people and our cultural, literary and artistic figures bear responsibility for depicting and conveying this process clearly and persuasively, for making their own contributions to the strategy of acceleration and for actively affirming our moral values. We need to make a particularly serious effort to eradicate the dullness and tedium from the products of our newspapers and magazines and publishing houses, our television, radio and motion picture studios and the stages of our theaters. We must subject them to truly principled evaluation, prevent publication of ideologically harmful, inferior works and launch a resolute struggle to eliminate the pot-boiling and the hackwork.

In light of guidelines enunciated at the 27th CPSU Congress, we must undertake an immediate reorganization of our system of Marxist-Leninist instruction for communists and nonparty individuals and of the program of economic education we provide our workers and tie these efforts in closely with the concrete problems of the present day. Our lecture propaganda and oral and visual agitation programs also await a thoroughgoing reorganization. We must work to insure that listeners, readers and viewers are able to develop a sense of involvement in the positive developments under way in the life of our society, a consciousness of their activities and conscious patterns of conduct, an ability to deal effectively with any manifestations of national exclusiveness and parochial regionalism and lift themselves to higher levels of personal political development and motivate them to become more active socially and in their work. The plenum also heard expressions of concern that insufficiently rigorous demands are still being placed on the schools when it comes to efforts to develop a positive outlook on life in the up and coming generation of citizens and the schools' role in developing in their students a willingness to give all, and if necessary sacrifice themselves, for the glory of the fatherland.

To accomplish the tasks required by the strategy of acceleration, promote the development of industries playing a critical role in the country's advancement in science and technology, utilize the achievements of the multinational Soviet culture and master new technologies, a solid knowledge of the Russian language is imperative.

It has become an integral component of the Soviet way of life. With the objective of increasing the role of the Russian language in the education of our citizens and upgrading instruction in the language at both the secondary and college levels, we must develop and as soon as possible implement a comprehensive "Russian language" program.

While acknowledging that as a result of the active and consistent support of the CPSU Central Committee, the republic is demonstrating progress in improving all aspects of its economic and social life, the central committee plenum focused the attention of local party committees and ideological institutions on the fact that there is still no major progress to report in efforts to reorganize ideological and political education programs. The policy of renewal is not being pursued with the requisite aggressiveness and dynamism, while efforts at reorganization are encountering a variety of sociopsychological and organizational obstacles. The inertia of the past, old approaches to the solution of new problems, formalism, the tendency to work in spurts, bureaucratic distortions in the functioning of the administrative apparatus, lack of discipline, irresponsibility on the part of a number of cadres and inclinations to attempt to disguise tinkering as reorganization all encumber efforts to accelerate the pace of the social and economic development in the republic.

Serious mistakes both in the management sphere and in the areas of political organization and ideological work have their impact on even such indicators as contract production deliveries, in which area the republic has accumulated obligations since the first of the year of somewhere in the neighborhood of 200 million rubles.

Now you readers ask yourselves: how many working hands have been idled at other enterprises because enterprises in Navoi, Samarkand and Tashkent oblasts have not delivered to them all the supplies their contractual obligations call for? Isn't this what people are talking about when they refer to the dogs in the manger?

In a number of instances, particularly within the Ministry of Construction Materials, despite the fact that the people here have heard a number of lectures and participated in discussions and other propaganda activities aimed at tightening up the production and work discipline, production operations have yet to be properly organized. The republic Gosagroprom is falling down in a number of areas, some ministries and departments have still not renounced the pretense, the padding and the eyewash and a number of serious problems still exist at management levels in Kashkadarya, Bukhara and several other oblasts.

Shortcomings like this can be explained to a certain extent as consequences of a situation in which ideological and political education have been divorced from the everyday affairs and concerns of the people and of work collectives. It is certainly no secret that a great many primary party organizations and party city and rayon committees are not taking effective steps to create within work collectives an atmosphere in which breaches of production or social discipline are not tolerated, an atmosphere of comradely mutual assistance and doing nothing whatsoever to focus more attention on the human factor and motivate people to self-sacrificing labor. Party organizations in Andizhan, Bukhara, Dzhizak and Syrdarya oblasts are not consistently analyzing from the political and moral points of view instances, for example, of failure to meet plan targets, poor returns on investment, losses of work time or of the production of poor-quality goods. They will frequently substitute economic administration

by order and edict for true economic management, by no means infrequently be found failing to regard the work collective as a living social cell for developing the creative powers of the individual and very often neglect the educational potential of socialist competition to increase levels of involvement in work and political activity. Socialist competition is sometimes organized in only the most perfunctory way, with competition results figured only occasionally and then not given the proper public attention. Entirely inadequate attention is being given to analysis of the new ideas and practices of innovators in production and to publicizing this experience by the benefit of others.

It is the task of party organizations to resolutely eradicate this approach to things, to work to improve the organization and then orient the program more effectively toward the achievement of greater labor productivity, improvement in quality indicators, increasing economies in the consumption of resources and toward insuring product deliveries in accordance with contract deadlines. Political education in industry should be concentrated in those areas where the critical tasks of reorganization are handled. Establish democratic participation on a more solid foundation; give work collectives a greater role in setting standards of labor and consumption, distributing resources for social and cultural development and in dealing with breaches of discipline and order. Make extensive use in this connection of the enormous mobilizing potential of the Appeal of the CPSU Central Committee to the Workers of the Soviet Union and the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, "All-Union Socialist Competition and its Role in Successful Fulfillment of the Twelfth Five-Year Plan."

Individual work and contact with people within every work collective, at every signal station, at the place of residence takes on special meaning and significance under present-day circumstances. Only by challenging a specific individual or a specific work collective with a specific set of tasks will it be possible to achieve success in this effort. For a dramatic example of this we can turn to what a number of party oblast committees have been able to achieve, cases in which first secretaries have appealed personally to people in connection with one thing or another and in which the people have then responded enthusiastically. And how many other such examples can we see in the heroic history of our people, cases where individuals inspired by a word, seized by an idea, have accomplished unbelievable things, building plants and factories, railroad lines and irrigation canals and bringing new land under cultivation, all in a matter of a few days or months.

The essential criterion of the effectiveness of ideological education is that it be oriented to the greatest possible extent toward the achievement of specific positive results within each work collective and at each work station. Bearing particular responsibility for the education and indoctrination of aggressive fighters and champions of the new, skilled soldiers of reorganization and leaders in the drive for acceleration, are the oblast, city and rayon committees of the party and the primary organizations in enterprises and institutions, whose mission it is to bring every ideological influence to bear with the objective of infusing the masses with the revolutionary ideas of the 27th Congress of the CPSU such that these ideas become for them a concrete action program. In linking ideological indoctrination closely with the tasks involved in placing the republic economy onto the intensification track, it is essential to motivate people to become more active politically, to develop in them a

solid commitment to civic responsibilities, strong communist convictions, unbounded devotion to the socialist fatherland, proletarian and socialist internationalism, an intolerance of the routine and inertia and of all things alien to socialism, our culture and our collectivist morality. Preparations for the upcoming 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution should be utilized extensively for this purpose. It must be the continuous concern of all party, trade union and Komsomol organizations to instill in people a profound moral sense, a sense of personal responsibility to society, integrity, modesty, conscientiousness and honesty.

The plenum called on party organizations and ideological institutions to devote all efforts to a resolute rebuff to bourgeois propaganda, consistently to affirm the principles of social justice in our society and intensify atheistic indoctrination among workers. This cannot be an on-again, off-again effort; it must be well-planned, well-argued and militant — it can admit no compromise or indifference. Communists, Komsomol members and all senior personnel must be imbued with a sense of personal responsibility for the state of atheistic indoctrination, stand as personal examples of intolerance of religious rituals and archaic views and customs and strive to affirm new Soviet traditions and rituals.

Success in efforts to increase the effectiveness of ideological work requires improvements in style and method. We must avoid outdated approaches, dispense with the paper mill and steer away from the empty, meaningless words. We must place ourselves in the thick of the masses, live continuously among them, serve the people and embody in policy what they are saying and what they are thinking and involve them in the implementation of this very policy. An integrated approach to this activity on the part of ideological workers at all echelons is essential. No other approach to popular education and indoctrination is possible today. We can no longer operate as we traditionally have; we must dispense with the rote, mechanical approach — militance and purposefulness are the watchwords of the day!

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MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

EDITOR ARGUES FOR JOURNALISTS' CODE OF ETHICS

PM131241 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 10 Mar 87 p 3

[Article by D. Avraamov, deputy chief editor of the journal ZHURNALIST: "A Code of Journalistic Ethics Is Needed"]

[Text] The changes that have taken place in our country since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the restructuring of all spheres of social life, which is gathering pace, create a fundamentally new situation for the activity of the press. There are no prohibited topics, there are no zones closed to criticism. You can write and speak, but only the truth.

At the same time, the expansion of democracy and openness enhances the role of ethical and moral principles in our work. When opinions, positions, and interests clash it is not easy to decide whose side to take when both sides give assurances that they are firmly behind the restructuring.

During the meeting with leaders of the mass news media M.S. Gorbachev warned journalists against lack of objectivity, bias, inaccuracy, a censorious tone, and condescension which are as humiliating for human dignity as they are harmful to the cause. He reminded them that the act of publication is a matter affecting society as a whole. It cannot reflect someone's complexes or ambitions.

Journalists must shoulder a certain proportion of blame for the gap between the name given to something and the thing itself, between words and deeds, a gap which was a sign of the recent past. This gap always means that someone among us told an untruth or failed to tell the truth. It happens even now that, in pursuit of short-term economic benefit, a newspaperman overlooks the long-term objectives and becomes a mouthpiece of departmentalism or parochialism. We still have not cured the disease of "rewriting" [zaavtorstvo], which is contrary to the very nature of the Soviet press as an organ of direct democracy: Instead of helping someone to express his ideas, the journalist himself writes a standard response on that person's behalf. We also encounter unwillingness to admit past mistakes. There still are frequent instances, especially in the local press, of timidity toward the changes that are taking place, of a desire to mark time, to wait and see how things will turn out. These moods, in their turn, are reflected in newspaper pages. And the 14 million additional subscriptions to central newspapers and journals only highlight even more clearly the sad fact that many publications have lost thousands of subscribers. Primarily those which have failed to capture the nationwide thirst for change.

Experience shows that we had to pay a high price for the disregard for professional ethics which prevailed among some cadres for many years. The lack of codified demands on professional morality perfectly suits those who believe that they are allowed double standards of behavior, who lack firm and fully developed principles, and who, without a second thought, would adopt any position backed by authority. They have no need for a code, a code for them is an "artificial embellishment." What is needed is a unified, clear-cut, and profoundly thought-out system of norms and rules, a code of ethics for Soviet journalists that is recognized by all.

Under the conditions of the growing power exercised by the mass news media, a code of journalistic ethics must fully embrace and actively affirm the humanitarian goals of our profession. In 1980 the International Organization of Journalists succeeded in agreeing with other international and regional associations 10 basic principles of professional ethics. Their value lies in their democratic orientation, in the proclamation of the obligation of all journalists to advocate peace and mutual understanding between peoples and to take a stand against the propaganda of war, racism, apartheid, and other forms of discrimination and colonialism, a stand for the establishment of a "new information order."

Of course, they are of necessity pretty general and therefore need to be rendered more specific according to the socioeconomic and national features of various countries. The code of Soviet journalists' ethics could enshrine the fundamental goals of professional activity, the Leninist principles of journalism, the most important moral qualities contributing to successful work, and the norms of professional morality and service ethics. It would also be expedient to elaborate sanctions for any breach of these norms.

The draft new statute of the USSR Journalists Union contains a sound idea: To set up an ethical and legal council under the union's board. But its activity must not, of course, be reduced to "unregulated activity." In other words, it must be based on certain normative foundations, that is on well-elaborated and clear criteria of professional behavior known to all journalists. One would like to see the Sixth Journalists Union Congress give an impetus to this work.

It is also worth recalling that the sphere of legal regulation is considerably narrower than that of moral regulation: The law cannot and must not regulate, for example, the forms of a journalist's contacts with future heroes, the methods for interpretation of facts, the tone of publications, and many other aspects of our professional labor. Moreover, a journalist's entire activity is moral by nature because it is difficult to find in it any actions which do not reflect the writer's attitude toward those of whom and for whom he writes.

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CSO: 1800/439

MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

SOVIET PUBLISHERS DISCUSS BOOK PUBLISHING POLICY

PM101140 [Editorial Report] Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 February 1987 carries on page 7 under the rubric "For Whom Are Books Published?" A 2,600-word discussion headed "Editions, Instead of Mirages?" between the paper's correspondent Ye. Kuzmin and leaders of the Artistic Literature Publishing House V. Menshikov, acting director of the publishing house, A. Puzikov, chief editor, and V. Aladyev, deputy director and chief artist. They note that while there has been an increase in the publication of contemporary Soviet Literature in terms of the proportion of the total number of titles, in terms of print runs classics still account for 80 percent. The publishers discuss their policy on improving publication of modern works and works of the literature of the peoples of the USSR and on responding to consumer demand. Puzikov concedes that "print runs are not always coordinated with the actual demand from readers," and notes the importance of distribution and marketing policies in this respect. Aladyev discusses the difficulties involved in printing books to a high technical standard, especially those with illustrations. They note the move toward increased autonomy for the publishing houses and express the intention of being "more careful than before in selecting each title for the publishing plan." They complain that printing facilities are holding them back, and express the hope of expanding the "classics and contemporaries" series, which appeals to "the mass reader."

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CSO: 1800/439

MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

COUNTERPROPAGANDA SUBJECT OF TURKMEN BILIM SOCIETY PLENUM

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen on 21 December 1986 carries on page 1 a 400-word unsigned article headlined "Plenum of the Directorate of the TuSSR Bilim Society" at which the question "On the work of TuSSR Bilim Society organizations in perfecting counterpropaganda in connection with decrees of the 23d Turkmen CP Congress" was discussed. It was pointed out, that "the rebuilding of lecture propaganda and counterpropaganda questions in the ideological struggle is still proceeding too slowly and, in some cases, unsuccessfully." It was added that "many Bilim Society organizations are still working in the old style, away from genuine work. Most of the time, a common quality of lectures is that they are not characterized by a high ideational level and are poorly related to the working life of the republic and the life of production collectives." Bilim Society organizations in Ashkhabad, Tashauz, and Mary Oblasts are singled out for "poor work."

TuSSR: MARXISM-LENINISM STUDIES UNDER FIRE

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 13 December 1986 carries on page 1 a 1,000-word lead editorial headlined "Let Us Perfect Marxism-Leninism Knowledge" on the republic's system of party studies in which various facets of Soviet foreign and domestic policy are taught. Recent examinations of Ashkhabad's party organizations revealed "formalism," "overorganization," and "irresponsibility" in this sector. The editorial urges that "party committees and primary party organizations must reexamine the basis of Marxism-Leninism studies in accordance with demands of the 27th CPSU Congress. We must put an end to formalism in these studies and strengthen their requirements so that communists can acquire the theory of Marxism-Leninism."

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CSO: 1830/350

HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

FORCED RESETTLEMENT OF MOLDAVIANS IN 1949 DESCRIBED

[Editorial Report] The literary journal OKTYABR' features in its February 1987 issue on pages 120-151 a short story about the forced resettlement of Moldavians shortly after World War II. The story describes the injustices which occurred as the "unreliable" elements of the population were rounded up in the middle of the night and herded onto trains and emphasizes the shame of local party officials, who meekly followed the orders of those directing the operation and would not speak out when they observed injustices or illegal actions taking place. The story concludes with the following postface: "This story was written a little more than a quarter of a century ago, and almost 40 years have passed since those days through which its heroes lived. Time has passed, and much, very much, has suddenly changed. Some of those exiled have returned to their homeland. They have children, grandchildren. May the new generation know what their grandparents and parents lived through. The light of truth must constantly illuminate the cleansing work which has been undertaken in all aspects of our lives since the 27th CPSU Congress."

CSO: 1800/479-P

CULTURE

IZVESTIYA ON MODERN ART

PM161043 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 March 1987 Morning Edition carries on page 3 under the heading "Showing and Assessing; Thoughts of a Museum Director on the Destiny of Modern Painting" a 2,400-word article dated Yerevan by Genrikh Igityan, director of the Yerevan Museum of Modern Art. "The absence of cultural guidelines, of moral and ethical tenets, of esthetic demands for young people today--is that not a sore point in our social life? We must listen to, see, and understand young people better and collaborate with them better," Igityan asserts, arguing that more young people should be on the juries of young people's art competitions since they will reject "artificial leaders" in judging works of art. Igityan continues:

"The time has passed when an exhibition was opened and then suddenly closed. And closed by people who were utterly incompetent and had no understanding of art but who for some reason had the right to close it. I personally have never met a single anti-Soviet artist in our country. In my entire practice. I have met with artists who thought differently. But someone who thinks differently in art is by no means someone who is against the state. He simply thinks in different terms. And this is fine! Generally speaking, all art and all culture have been created thanks to people who thought differently."

Igityan then describes the Yerevan Museum of Modern Art where he is free to exhibit the work of any artist irrespective of age or qualifications. He criticizes the way in which paintings are chosen for purchase by the state: "It is not art which is valued in our country, it is simply that money is handed out." "The state," he continues, "buying up pictures in hundreds, pays artists several million rubles. Does this patronage not cost us dear?" In fact, Igityan argues, "we have lost our criteria in representational art."

Igityan then suggests creating a museum of modern art in Moscow along the same lines as the Yerevan Museum, offering his own services in setting it up and emphasizing that it will cost the state nothing: "A gallery could be opened at the museum which would sell works which have been assessed as is customary in the world. Anyone who wants could buy a work and take it abroad but with our permission and could only take what we considered possible to give and not as now, when the 'cream' is exported. All the money could go to acquire works for the museum."

In addition Igityan suggests that every year the Manezh and, if extra room is needed, the gallery on the Krymskaya embankment, be used to exhibit for

immediate sale 5-10 works by any artist "irrespective of union membership." The money the state spends on art, he argues, would be better spent on social facilities. At present a "colossal amount" of painting is produced which no one ever sees: "It would be better to produce a good tiled wall in a kindergarten, to put sculptures in a courtyard, to produce a beautiful mural for children. And let an artist's work be assessed in that way."

The Moscow museum, Igityan continues, should be under the control of the Moscow City Soviet, and should seek out the work of as yet unknown artists: "We will bring this wealth into the light--that's openness for you. The museum should seek to show "the diversity of artistic forms." Moreover, although the works of Kandinskiy, Malyevich, and Chagall are exhibited overseas, they are not displayed in the Soviet Union. "Why do we believe that the Japanese viewer is cleverer than the Soviet viewer?" "Filonov, the greatest artist of the 20th century, who died in 1944, lived in Leningrad. But where can we see Filonov's works?" Igityan asks, asserting that "a museum of modern art should display the newest tendencies of our time, that is experimental work." In addition Igityan considers that Moscow needs a museum of Soviet representational art and that the Tretyakov Gallery should be left "as Tretyakov created it." Meanwhile the museum of modern art would "unite all the young talents of Moscow and become a place for argument and discussion."

Igityan's article is followed by a comment "from the editorial office" which states: "Genrikh Igityan's article raises questions connected with the democratization of our artistic life. Perhaps it will generate discussion and find both supporters and opponents. But the main thing--the proposal to create a museum of modern art in Moscow--will, we hope be of interest not only to artists and art critics but also to the city's public and creative organizations and masters--the Moscow Gorispolkom."

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CSO: 1800/438

CULTURE

CALL FOR MUSEUM OF WESTERN MODERN ART TO REOPEN

PM171601 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 9, 1 Mar 87 p 3

[Aleksandr Kamenskiy article: "The Splendid Museum Must be Restored"]

[Text] I recollect my schoolday impressions, when one could go at any time to]l Kropotkinskaya Street and visit the State Museum of New Western Art. Each of the visits was like a sweet, happy dream. It was a marvelous garden of painting art of the impressionists--Claude Monet, August Renoir, Edgar Degas, Camille Pissarro and Alfred Sisley; the grand plastic architectonics of Paul Cezanne; the tragic must of Vincent Van Gogh; some 30 masterpieces by Paul Gauguin; the amazingly forceful and spiritually saturated "new vision" of Pablo Picasso and Henri Matisse; and also August Rodin, Henri Rousseau, Andre Derain, Georges Braque and Albert Marquet. It was a literal fete for one's eyes and intellect, a truly marvelous treasury of artistic guests of the new time!

The museum's history is as follows. The Decree "On Nationalization of Shchukin's Art Gallery" of the Council of People's Commissars, signed by Lenin, was published on 5 November 1918. The Decree said that the gallery was declared "state property," because "it presents an exceptional collection of great European masters, mainly French, of the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century and is of state importance due to its high artistic value."

What weighty, obligating words! They can be applied also to another Moscow collection--of Ivan Morozov, who, together with Sergey Shchukin (and nearly at the same time with him) was collecting the latest French masters. Morozov's collection was nationalized a bit later (19 December 1918) and also by a special decree signed by Lenin.

What is the fate of these collections? At first they were displayed separately (the First and Second Museums of New Western Painting Art), which later on, in 1923, were merged into the State Museum of New Western Art.

It would be no exaggeration at all to say that this museum was second to none in the whole world for the completeness, wholeness and supreme quality of selection of works of new French art. Just like Pavel Tretyakov, the founder of the famous gallery, these two other Moscow merchants performed a real feat in the name of culture. Because they did not purchase the works only at

Western auctions and from the authors of the wonderful works themselves, but even specially ordered them from the artists: On Ivan morozov's order Aristide Maillol made four sculptures ("Pomona," "Flora," "Spring" and "Summer") and Maurice Denis the series of drawings "Psyche's History," and Henri Matisse's famous "Music" and "Dance" were made especially for Sergey Shchukin.

The museum existed for 25 years and was one of the most visited art galleries in Moscow.

Then a tragedy happened. The museum was closed down in 1948 as the bulwark of formalism. The museum's exhibits were kept for a long time in depositories, and then divided between the Hermitage and the Pushkin Fine Arts Museum in Moscow. In them the works are a sort of a supplement to classics. The unique (in its naturalness and variety) panorama of the new art of the 20th century with its "revolution of views," which formerly existed in the museum on Kropotkinskaya Street, has vanished from our culture.

But now we can, and must, restore it! Because all the works have been preserved (except Van Gogh's "Night Cafe"--a work of genius). They should be returned to the Morozov's mansion, which belongs, historically, to the museum on Kropotkinskaya Street. Let it be an autonomous branch of the Pushkin Museum, with its tremendous organizational opportunities and a powerful research collective. There are other possibilities, of course, but that is not the main thing. The main thing is to restore the wonderful museum, our pride and the living echo of the "worldwide responsiveness" of Russian culture.

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CSO: 1812/56

CULTURE

WRITERS BREAK 'BAN' ON 'EVICTED' NATION'S STORY

PM171543 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 9, 1 Mar 87 p 10

[Interview with writer Anatoliy Pristavkin by Aleksandr Vasinskiy: "Let Bygones Be Bygones, But Not Dead"]

[Text] Anatoliy Pristavik's long story, "The Golden Cloud Slept There," to appear later this year in issues Nos 3 and 4 of the literary monthly ZNAMYA is about wartime homeless children from near Moscow. In early 1944, one of Moscow's children's homes, at which the story's characters had found shelter, was moved to the Caucasus. The teenage boys found themselves in the places from which the Chechens had been recently evicted (according to the "Soviet History Encyclopaedia," it was because they violated socialist law). And their life in the Caucasus proved to be really dramatic.

Journalist Aleksandr Vasinskiy talked with the author, Anatoliy Pristavkin.

[Vasinskiy] I noticed that your manuscript is dated 1981....

[Pristavkin] I wrote the story that year. It took me 6 months to write, but you know how the phrase goes: He wrote it for such and such a long time, plus his whole life. Never before had I so nursed any single work in my heart and soul. The writing was fast, because I couldn't take long over it. The story burned literally within me. Putting all those experiences on paper was like performing an operation on myself.

[Vasinskiy] Do you mean to say that you wrote from your own experience?

[Pristavkin] Well, of course, the artistic experience is never an exact replica of life, even in the documentary genre. But much really happened just as I described it in my story.

[Vasinskiy] Were you a homeless child who lived in the children's home which was moved to the Caucasus?

[Pristavkin] Yes, I had roamed during the war, and used to living, for 3 months at a time in a ditch in the forest, regarding it my real home, my legitimate place in life, so to speak. I had belonged to vagabond bands, was given away as part of the stake in a game of cards--in short, the scenes describing the thieves' and tramps' life are (as many other scenes) a result of first-hand knowledge.

[Vasinskiy] The date, 1981, implies that quite some time had elapsed since the time the story was finished and now. That must have been the time while your manuscript was "roaming" from one literary monthly to another as a "homeless" work of literature, wasn't it?

[Pristavkin] Now that the story's fate is nearing a happy end--being published --I don't want to remember where and why it had been rejected. I would rather put in a kind word for its friends and advocates. Poet Yevgeniy Yevtushenko was a great help, as were many others.

[Vasinskiy] If I'm not mistaken, the first to have mentioned it as a work worthy of publication but still unpublished was Alex Adamovich in his speech at the Congress of Soviet Writers.

[Pristavkin] Yes, I am most thankful to him. My first readers were my students at the Literary Institute. It happened quite by chance. I sometimes hold informal seminars with them around the bonfire in the forest. Once I took a pile of rough copies and variants to use as kindling.

[Vasinskiy] But manuscripts don't burn!

[Pristavkin] They burn all right. At least the rough copies do. My students later told me that some pages were left behind and found them interesting to read.

[Vasinskiy] I would not like to anticipate readers' impressions, but I think they will queue in libraries to get the monthly installments. It's a stroke of good luck that a monthly decided to "adopt" your homeless story.

[Pristavkin] Of course, I'm grateful to the editors.

[Vasinskiy] But when you were writing the story, you must have been aware that it would most probably remain in your desk drawer.

[Pristavkin] A writer shouldn't think about it at all. Thoughts like this interfere with the objectivity and freedom of one's writing. A writer shouldn't think about what he or she can or can't write about, but should be fully immersed in his or her subject. The understanding of the market situation, both favourable and unfavourable, is a handicap.

[Vasinskiy] Do you mean to say that there exist two sorts of non-thinking conformists: conservatives who strive for caution and conflictless writing, and hacks who, while confessing "scandalous straightforwardness" and "sensational opposition," in the final analysis write nothing more than shallow words?

[Pristavkin] Exactly. "As you please," is the formula that applies not only to reactionaries. I don't think that writing boldly because ordered to do so, or truth by permission, is any better than passing over something in silence, conformism is conformism.

[Vasinskiy] You are referring to free thinking by authorization, aren't you?

[Pristavkin] The very same. They have been in the forefront before the reconstruction, and they can keep in the front now, too. "We make a noise, my boy, we make a noise," as a well-known quote from Aleksandr Griboyedov's "Woe from Wit" runs. Now they say, "Well, you need the truth? O.K., we'll give you the truth." And they do. But this is not the real truth, because it doesn't come from the heart. That's why it would be better to divide writers not into bold and cautious, but into true and false.

[Vasinskiy] Somehow I keep turning in my mind to the original impulse which sets the writer going. You have chosen the subject which was long considered a taboo. But common sense and the sense of historic justice find it difficult to reconcile themselves to taboos. If something did happen in history--how can one pretend it never happened? This is something I can't comprehend.

[Pristavkin] Neither can I.

[Vasinskiy] Elliptical speech has its rules and oddities. I remember when the world's first cosmonaut Yuriy Gagarin was congratulated in Red Square. I was there....

[Pristavkin] And now when we are shown the documentary rushes, we see Yuriy Gagarin saying something to someone, but that someone is cut off, right? It was Khrushchev.

[Vasinskiy] Why and what for should such rushes be censored? That was history! In Khrushchev's times, after the personality cult was denounced, they mentioned Stalin's name hardly at all and, the same as in Stalin's times, dozens of other names were never mentioned. But those names had made history. How and why should they be omitted?

At the CPSU Central Committee, when Mikhail Gorbachev met with the leaders of the Soviet mass media and propaganda agencies, he said that "neither names, nor blank spots in history or literature should be forgotten. Otherwise, they are not history, and not literature, but artificial time-serving schemes."

Historic personages and events should be assessed, the i's dotted and the t's crossed, but passing things in silence is antihistorical. In this connection, your story fills an important void. Perhaps you will be surprised to learn that while reading "the Golden Clouds..." I often recalled the Georgian film "Repentance." In particular, the scene in your story where the Chechens caress the inscriptions on the tombstones used in road construction reminded me...

[Pristavkin] ...of the scene in which a woman in "Repentance" talks lovingly to the log bearing her husband's name on its butt.

[Vasinskiy] What I mean is not so much the artistic and spiritual parallel, but the common source of fear afflicting the characters in both "The Golden Cloud..." and "Repentance." In a certain sense, both works break the ban on this topic

and manifest redemption through repentance. You have not allowed us to forget, you recalled things from oblivion--and this means the past is not dead. I'm recollecting a page at the end of Chapter 10 about the guide Ilya who was quartered in a house whose owners, the Chechen family, had been evicted. He says he is frightened. The main characters, Sashka and Kolka, say this to one another: "I'm afraid, too"--"But What of?"--"I don't know"--How can you not know what you are afraid of?"--"I can... and then... when all around are afraid, it gets even more frightening."

[Pristavkin] Yes, by showing the events through the eyes of teenage boys. I wanted to show their encounter with pain, injustice, and fear, the latter being all the greater for its being incomprehensible and mysterious. All the events in the story happen in the atmosphere of half-explained invisible battles and cruelties.

[Vasinskiy] Suffice it to remember the scene of Sashka's death....

[Pristavkin] Yes, by the will of circumstance, children become involved in tragedy. They cannot avoid it, because it is like war which sucks into its craters everything that happens to be around.

[Vasinskiy] Several times, I caught myself visualizing certain episodes as a film, for instance, the scene where the hungry teenagers find themselves in a cattle-farm with a big piece of salt rock in the middle. They kneel around and lick it....

[Pristavkin] Yes, that was how it was. As you may remember, now and then I interrupt my story of fiction to insert documentary passages. In one of these I confess that I still cherish a hope of hearing from at least 1 of my 500 fellow-sufferers. All these years, in my stories and novels, I have been giving real names to my characters, but none has so far responded. And so a terrible thought keeps coming to my mind: Is it possible that I am the only survivor? Has not a single other member of our colony got through?

[Vasinskiy] Indeed, you have even mentioned the true name of your boarding school's director, whom you characterize as "petty Napoleon," a man who robbed the children of whatever little they had.

[Pristavkin] Yes, by naming V.N. Bashmakov, I registered, on behalf of all the boys, our unwillingness to forgive.

[Vasinskiy] I think that your new story must be read with interest by the young people. This interest must be antithetical in nature. There is so much contrast in the detail of everyday life between then and now. Urban folklore, ditties and slang of the period must be a great attraction, too, I will admit that I felt very sad reading your story.

[Pristavkin] Well, "The Golden Cloud"... was written for the sake of the future, for the sake of our children. When adults are at war, children always find an opportunity for understanding. This is our only hope if we want our mad world to come to its senses. The fact that in the final part of my story,

Kolka and the Chechen boy Alkhuzur become "blood brothers," should be interpreted as a humanistic and internationalist symbol, if you wish.

[Vasinskiy] You have had a great predecessor--Leo Tolstoy--insofar as such an interpretation of the topic is concerned. His "Hakji Murad" and other Caucasian tales are full of compassion for the highlanders and aversion towards enmity. He promoted his understanding of the full truth, of the two-sided truth. In your case, part of the truth was on the highlanders' side, when they fled to the mountains and raided the people settled in the houses the Chechens had been forcefully evicted from. Your story relates that as well as the army operations to "comb" the mountains.

[Pristavkin] It all began with the order to resettle a whole nation because certain individuals collaborated with the Nazis. But why should the whole people be blamed for the crimes of several individuals? You are quite right about the truth being two-sided at least. Tolstoy followed this principle and got the truth that was single and unique--the truth of humanity, which does not raise one person over another for reasons of race, religion or superiority of civilization. When Tolstoy described Caucasian highlanders with compassion, some critics accused him of being unpatriotic. Where are those abusers now? What is left of them? Tolstoy, on the other hand, stands firm as a rock as the river of time flows by at his foot?

[Vasinskiy] How did the 1943-1944 cataclysm in the life of the Chechen people end?

[Pristavkin] History set it right. On 9 January 1957 the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet restored the autonomy of the Chechen and Ingush peoples, and they were allowed to return to their native places. Several thousand chechens and Ingushes who fought in the battlefronts and as partisans during the war were awarded orders and medals. And 36 became Heroes of the Soviet Union. This, too, is history which should never be forgotten.

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CSO: 1812/56

CULTURE

BIOGRAPHY OF MIKHAIL BULGAKOV REVIEWED

PM071743 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 26 February 1987 carries on page 5 under the headline "Continuation of a Theatrical Novel" a 1,000-word review of A. Smelyanskiy's book "Mikhail Bulgakov in the Arts Theater" (A. Smelyanskiy. Mikhail Bulgakov V. Khudozhestvennom Teatre. Moscow, "Iskusstvo" Publishing House, 1986) by N. Agisheva.

Agisheva opens with a quotation from a poem by Tsvetayeva, saying that Tsvetayeva could not have imagined that her verses would "to a certain extent portray the fate of a whole series of Russian writers who, for various reasons, missed their fame while still alive. For a long time we knew little about them, and now we are making up for this omission, having finally realized that we cannot move and develop further without being aware of our own spiritual heritage in its totality and in all its diversity.

"A special place among the writers whose work and life are being reborn in our days belongs to Mikhail Afanasyevich Bulgakov."

Agisheva reviews at some length the book, which deals with Bulgakov's career and involvement with the Moscow Arts Theater, saying that it "does more than just cast light on some most interesting and unfairly forgotten pages in theatrical history" and that it depicts "the example of a major artist's loyalty to his own self, to ideals acquired once and for all times, when he could reply with a clear conscience to all the tricks of fate. 'But I have gritted my teeth and am working around the clock.'"

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CSO: 1800/438

CULTURE

KLIMOV APPEALS FOR COOPERATION IN RESTRUCTURING FILM INDUSTRY

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Jan 87 p 3

[Article by E. Klimov, first secretary of the Board of the USSR Cinematographers Union, under the rubric "Six Names in One Year": "Who Do We Not Want to See in the Movies?"]

[Text] Who and what do we not want to see on our movie screens? Naturally, no hacks, mindlessness or junk cinema... No doubt about it. We are simply fed up with all that. But so far the flood of monotonous films continues unabated. Is that really the way things are? Unfortunately, it is. Judging by studio plans, over the coming two years audiences can expect to be presented with many bad pictures. It is impossible to ignore this. On the one hand tumultuous change is underway in the movie industry, yet on the other we have this sad state of affairs. We are aware of this.

Restructuring does not come easily. Unfortunately inertia on the part of some workers in the movie industry is still great. They would like to create an appearance that everything is changing while it actually remains the same, leaving them unaffected. That is a comfortable sort of existence. But we must act in a different manner. The present time is a decisive one with respect to the future of the cinema. The first steps have been taken. But we must go all the way. There is no other way, anything less is failure. And we do want to follow this path to the end, no matter what the cost. My colleagues and I have consciously sacrificed our creative plans for the sake of this highly important cause, some to a greater, some to a lesser extent. Thus far we have little experience; we are learning our new task as we go. And the course of events is moving along impetuously and powerfully. This is no time to think about peace and quiet.

We have set forth principles, postulates of a sort, according to which we should live and act. We have completed an analysis of the state of affairs in the cinema, in all its branches and nodal points. We have prepared a basic model of future cinematography. This model has been widely discussed by our collectives. A number of studios have already begun to put this model into practice. This is a completely new system for the organization of our work, one which affects all aspects of that work. And we have high hopes for it.

Restructuring is not being carried out merely so that the people who make movies will be able to live and work better, but most of all for the sake of the movie viewer. The viewer deserves talented, intelligent cinema. The isolated successful works of recent years have been exceptions to the rule. And the most insulting thing is that, despite the fact that we have the best masters of their craft, we still do not look our best in viewers' eyes. They want a new quality in Soviet movies. And we are obligated to provide that quality. We will steadfastly clear the way for honest, talented people and firmly cut off con men, sycophants and hacks from access to movie cameras. We bid farewell to 1986, which changed so much in our lives, with the hope that everything which we have envisioned will become reality. That is what I think, and that is what my colleagues think.

12825

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CULTURE

PROBLEMS WITH FILM INDUSTRY RECOUNTED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 22 Nov 86 p 3

[Article by Budimir Metalnikov, secretary of the Board of the USSR Cinematographers Union, under the rubric "Direct Speech": "A Screenplay for Restructuring"; sections in all capitals published in boldface]

[Text] Over the span of his 30-year career, Budimir Metalnikov has personally and in coauthorship written screenplays which were the basis for films which have become a notable phenomenon in our cinema: "Krutyie gorki" [The Steep Hills], "Otchiy dom" [Father's House], "Prostaya istoriya" [A Simple Story], "Aleshkina lyubov" [Aleshkin's Love], "Dom i khozyain" [House and Master], "Nadezhda i opora" [Hope and Comfort]... No matter what area of activity this film dramatist turns his hand to, his work is imbued with a high degree of morality and civic pride. Today B. Metalnikov ponders the cinema and his own problems and concerns on our page.

I begin this commentary with the heavy feeling of a man who has suffered a defeat. A meeting of the secretariat of the Board of the USSR Cinematographers Union has just concluded; at that meeting the thematic plan for movie production in 1987 was discussed, and we were forced to sadly acknowledge that the cumbersome bulk of our moviemaking ship is continuing along its previous course and is unable to either slow down or make a sharp course change. Slowing down would mean cutting production and reducing the number of specialists employed in studios, and turning around will require new screenplays, which we do not have at the present time. This means that in 1988 -- the third year of the five-year plan! -- most of the films being shown will be little different from those which we are seeing now. And cinematographers will justifiably be bombarded with criticism, just as they were at the beginning of the current year. And viewers will be justified in asking: where is your restructuring? What has changed since the 5th Congress of Cinematographers?

But what can we do, when the average production cycle -- from the idea for a screenplay to the release of a movie -- takes two-and-a-half years under the very best conditions? Was there really nothing which could have been done? No, something could have been done! At least some things could have been

achieved. The secretariat sounded the first note of alarm in this connection as early as June. Certain movies, the quality of which known in advance, should have been set aside and replaced with others. It would have been possible to compile immediately a list of brilliant, significant works to be made into movies (just imagine what V. Rasputin's "Pozhar" [The Fire] or V. Astafyev's "Pechalnyy detektiv" [Sad Detective Story] alone would yield!) and include them in the plan, and we could have had 10-15 movies which would be timely, cutting and problematic, which would be in step with the spirit of the times.

But in order to do so it would have been necessary to overcome the inertia of thinking at the studios and at Goskino. To do so we would have had to renounce the hasty measures by which the plan is compiled. To do so we would have had to be somewhat cruel, because behind every movie title there is a human being, a person who has been waiting in line for his or her turn to make a film, sometimes for years, someone whom we feel sorry for, etc., etc. WHAT WE END UP WITH IS A SITUATION IN WHICH WE ARE SORRY FOR EVERYONE EXCEPT THE VIEWER! And therefore we are forced to apologize to the viewers for 1988 in advance...

Oh, the plan, the plan. His Highness The Plan!... "I adore the splendor of our plans..." I am in no way rejecting the idea of a plan, a plan is essential: it gives perspective and a basis for calculation; it is a strategy. And yet, and yet, how did it happen that the greatest achievement of the socialist economy, its most powerful lever, one which helped turn once-backward Russian into a mighty world power, has somehow become such a fetish that for its sake accounts are juggled, false reports filed and at times outright crimes committed?

Of course, plans should be met and even overfulfilled. For example, in agriculture it is a good thing to get a yield of 50 hundredweights of grain instead of the 25 which were planned, but what sense is there in giving one place enough funding and adequate limits on materials to fulfill its plan by 150 percent, while another place is short on those same materials? Obviously we are going to have to learn how to draw up the plans themselves correctly. So that we will not have the situation to which one movie hero referred: "What is the planned economy? It's like 'Ready, set' and then... you're not included in the plan!"

For instance, many topics and problems about which the newspapers are literally crying out were not included in the plan which we discussed. And, most surprisingly of all -- no one is to blame! So, the plan is very mediocre, but no one is at fault? How did that happen?

Meanwhile, the time for drawing up the 1988 plan is approaching, the plan for those movies which will be shown in 1989, the next-to-last year of this five-year plan. And studio representatives are, not without a certain amount of pride, submitting topics and names which would lead one to believe that the plan is already approximately 40 percent complete. The list appears to be wide-ranging. Interesting subjects, interesting directors. It would seem that all is well. But... ALL THESE SCREENPLAYS WERE WRITTEN LONG AGO, THE MAJORITY OF THEM PRIOR TO THE 27TH PARTY CONGRESS. CAN IT BE THAT HISTORY IS

REPEATING ITSELF? YET WHEN I PROPOSED THAT WE SPEND SOME MORE TIME ON THIS POINT, NOT RUSH THE PLAN, MAKE ROOM FOR SCRIPTS WHICH ARE BEING WRITTEN NOW AND WHICH WILL BE FINISHED SOMETIME IN THE MIDDLE OF NEXT YEAR, IN REPLY I WAS ACCUSED OF SUPPOSEDLY BEING OPPOSED TO THE PLANS IN GENERAL. SO ONCE AGAIN I POUND MY BREAST AND DECLARE: BROTHERS, I AM NO ANARCHIST, I FAVOR A PLAN. BUT THAT PLAN SHOULD CORRESPOND TO THE SPIRIT OF THE TIMES -- that is one point, and the other is that maneuvering room should be left for later changes. GOOD SCRIPTS SHOULD NOT BE FORCED TO STAND FORLORNLY IN LINE! But in response to this as well I was told that, supposedly, I had a poor understanding of the system by which movie production is financed, that those in charge of financing require from the studios a financially detailed plan for movies in the coming year by June of the current year.

Oh, these finance people! There is no way that they will ever understand us... Imagine this scene -- an auditor comes to Dubna or Obninsk and says:

"All right, how much did this little synchrotron cost? Ah! And how many particles have you produced with it? Allow me to have a look at your production stockpile. What do you mean, you don't have one? Not a single kilogram? Marks on photographs? A few marks, and where are they, anyway? Well, you see, marks are not very convincing, who will believe you?" Et cetera.

In a word, a subject for Mikhail Zhvanetskiy. But, obviously, there will be no such story, because the finance people respect scientists and believe them. But not us!

Addressing the Congress of Cinematographers, I -- for the umpteenth time! -- made this appeal: IT IS TIME WE SET A STANDARD OF PAYMENT FOR SCREENPLAY PROCUREMENT, AT A RATIO OF ONE TO THREE. THERE WAS A RUMOR THAT THEY INTENDED TO RESOLVE THIS ISSUE. THEY DID -- AT ONE TO TWO. TOO LITTLE! TOO LITTLE! TOO LITTLE!

I have read the document which preceded that decision. The finance people once again produced ominous figures representing the sums spent for screenplays which were never filmed. They propose that these figures be included in the debit column as losses or nonproductive expenditures.

But why? Why not as planned expenses? There is no auditor alive who would think of going to physicists and saying: okay, we are allocating you this many million rubles to discover a new particle. If you discover it, that's great. If you don't, then you have yourselves to blame, and we won't give you any more money.

A good screenplay is also a discovery of something which we have not yet seen. Or saw, but did not understand. Or understood, but in the wrong way. A screenplay, like a seed, contains both the sprout and the whole crown of the future "tree" of a movie. Every agronomist knows that only specially selected seeds should be sown. (There is also the concept of an elite, but we have no business on such heights!) Today the average cost of a screenplay does not exceed one-and-one-half percent of the total cost of a movie. WE ARE STARTING TO DWELL ON TRIVIALITIES AND CUT COSTS AT THE VERY BEGINNING OF THE CREATIVE

AND PRODUCTION PROCESS. But from the very first appearance of traders and producers on earth, they immediately learned not to calculate expenses, but rather yield, income and percentage of profit. So long as we continue to sow seeds, or rather screenplays, which are not select, then the yield -- the quality of a movie -- will remain low. How long will it take to convince people of that?

Now, at a time when the studios should be getting greater financial independence, at a time when the Cinematographers Union is having a real influence on the moviemaking process, a new economic mechanism is being created. Procurement of screenplays with latitude for failures will, I hope, be a part of that mechanism and yield considerable fruits with minimal expenditure. At the same time, this mechanism should be designed so as not to create a loophole for dishonest individuals who hope to receive a contract and payment and then not deliver.

Restructuring and acceleration. Acceleration and inertia. One could say that acceleration means overcoming inertia. But we have so much inertia left to overcome! And perhaps the most difficult part of this process is to overcome inertia in our way of thinking. There are so many petrified dogmas and postulates which must be reexamined and reconsidered. So many disagreements lie ahead! But it seems to me that IT IS TIME FOR US TO LEARN TO DISAGREE WITHOUT FEAR OF BEING WRONG. This is especially applicable to questions and principles which have for a long time seemed immutable. Is that not the reason why our sociology has become alienated from real-life needs, because scientists are afraid to be wrong, or simply regarded as heretics?

How did it happen that many of our theoreticians and historians of Marxism-Leninism have turned into a kind of guardians of a classical heritage? Even when many of my colleagues attempted to cite genuine historical facts and documents, the gentlemen from the appropriate institute said sullenly: so what? You can't! These specialists, instead of developing theory which is applicable to our new times, have specialized in the application of labels. Literally: half a step to the right or half a step to the left off the beaten track, and they have a label ready (or else "practical conclusions")!

Once I heard the following story: an individual was being inducted into the party. The individual had an excellent record and solid recommendations -- everything was going smoothly. It was only at the very end of his interview that someone asked:

"And what is it that actually prompted you to want to join the party?"

"I want to have an opportunity to hold administrative positions," naively replied the candidate.

Naturally he was rejected. But just as naturally the question presents itself: what if he had lied? What is he answered the question "properly"?

This incident occurred a long time ago, and for a long time now I have been thinking about the problem of our so-called nomenklatura. Why has a party membership card become something like a free pass to administrative positions?

Are we not thereby losing opportunities to utilize many skilled and energetic specialists, i.e. once again underutilizing our creative potential?

Trials which have been held in Central Asia, Moscow, Rostov and other places have confirmed the fact that a party card is unfortunately no guarantee of honesty in the cases of some administrators in positions of responsibility.

WE ELECT OUR SOVIET POWER IN A CLOSELY UNIFIED BLOC OF COMMUNISTS AND NON-PARTY MEMBERS. I FEEL THAT THIS BLOC, THIS INDESTRUCTIBLE LINK BETWEEN THE PARTY AND THE MASSES, WITH THOSE HONEST WORKING PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT IN THE PARTY RANKS, SHOULD ALSO APPLY TO EVERYDAY LIFE. AND THAT MEANS THAT EACH PERSON'S PLACE AND ROLE IN THE FUNCTIONING OF OUR SOCIETY SHOULD BE DETERMINED ON THE BASIS OF PRACTICAL AND POLITICAL QUALITIES: ARE YOU INTELLIGENT, DEVOTED TO THE IDEALS OF SOCIALISM, ENERGETIC AND PROFESSIONAL, CAPABLE OF ORGANIZING IN A NEW WAY? THEN HERE IS AN IMPORTANT POST FOR YOU -- TAKE THE LEAD, TAKE ACTION!

Dear reader! How often have you heard about the director of a plant, chairman of a kolkhoz or head of a scientific or educational institution submitting his resignation as a show of disagreement with his superiors? I never have. That is to say, theoretically each person can depart "at his own request," but... only if they let him leave. (In our movie "Nadezhda i opora" the raykom secretary says to a kolkhoz chairman: "We can only relieve you of your position along with all your party duties!")

Sometimes this way of handling a situation excludes the possibility of creative disagreement and makes it impossible for one to defend one's positions, and that leads to submissive, uncomplaining obedience. Oh, how many such passive executors of orders there are in the field of agriculture alone!

There will always be disagreements and differences of opinion. Perhaps what we need is a form for expressing disagreement. Resignation is disagreement, expressed openly and in a principled manner. Finally, resignation is genuine openness, and openness is the oxygen of democracy.

We cinematographers began to attend the school of democracy at our 5th Congress. When an aircraft breaks the sound barrier, a sonic boom is heard. Something like a sonic boom could be heard during the congress. It ended a long period of silence and discontent. This boom was an uncontrollable process: some suffered justly, others less so. Offended individuals were uncomprehending and outraged, and began planting false rumors and a mood of panic among those who fear restructuring in the movie industry. In this way opposition to the new beginnings was created. A pity!

Because everything we heard at the congress were things which had long been discussed in the corridors. What we heard was pointed, sometimes very cutting, sometimes even malicious, criticism. And so what? They did not strip away people's medals or titles, did not blot out an honorable past. Nor in the future does anyone intend to keep talented and capable individuals from working. There are not that many such individuals in the movie industry, anyway.

Some people simply lost some power, and they are having difficulty getting over that. One can understand their feelings, but they too must understand what happened and what relationship it has to everything which is going on now in our country. Incidentally, if the present membership of the secretariat does not live up to the expectations of it, a new body of members will be elected at the next congress. And from now on that is the way it will be. And this is as it should be.

The new secretariat gave me the assignment of heading up the commission on movie distribution. I began to familiarize myself with the distribution system, and was astonished!

Do you recall the criticism, and the audiences, which rained down on "Angelique", "The Disco Dancer" and similar foreign-made box office smashes? What I am about to say is not an objection to the gist of that criticism, nor a defense of the distributors, who must in any event overcome inertia in their habits and restructure their work: this is the essential way to clear up the situation which has been created. The distributors did not resort to the aforementioned movies because they were in great shape. The level of movie attendance has been on a sharp downward trend since 1974.

"Angelique" only helped slow down the decline in movie attendance and meet five-year plan goals. But plans do not exist merely for the purpose of obtaining bonuses for fulfilling them. Money from movie rentals flows into the local budget, and helps pay the salaries of teachers, hospital attendants, librarians and other workers in the non-production sector. As for the bonus, I realize, and I want my readers to realize, that the majority of you are receiving a salary much higher than that paid to persons employed in movie distribution. So it would be wrong to complain about their bonus. (Incidentally, it has been reported to me that for eight months now movie distributors have been unable to meet their plan quotas and thus have received no bonuses for that period; this prospect frightens many people, and already movie distribution and movie theaters are beginning to lose their most highly skilled employees.) Statistics mercilessly prove that each year the decline in receipts due to declining movie attendance amounts to over 14 million rubles. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Finance is planning with an iron hand to raise plan quotas for the state network of movie theaters alone (there also exists a trade union-run system) by many millions! A collision course?

And did you know, dear readers, that cinematography has already ceased to be a profitable field? That movie distribution receives also as much from the state in subsidies for the maintenance of the theater network as it pays in to the state budget? Such is the current state of affairs...

LIKE THE WHOLE FIELD OF CINEMATOGRAPHY, MOVIE DISTRIBUTION MUST ALSO RESTRUCTURE IN MANY WAYS. For starters, our union, together with Goskino, is preparing the draft version of a plan for the restructuring of the entire distribution system. This plan, as you know, must be agreed to by other departments, and that is where the problems began! Everyone is opposed! We are proposing that the state movie theater network be combined with the trade union-run network; the AUCCTU is opposed to that. We are proposing that the

salaries of persons employed in movie distribution be increased and their bonus more closely linked to their indices; we are attempting to attract skilled personnel with specialized education, of whom there is a serious shortage in the field of movie distribution. The Ministry of Finance is opposed. We want to hire retired persons to work in movie theaters -- social security is opposed to that idea. Incidentally, if you see a line at the box office that is by no means always a sign that a good film is playing. Often a line forms simply because there is no one there to sell tickets. But social security is still opposed!

That is a hellish job: trying to pin down bureaucrats and get their agreement! THE RESTRUCTURING PROCESS HAS NO GREATER ENEMY THAN A BUREAUCRAT. BECAUSE A BUREAUCRAT IS ALWAYS A DECEIVER, A COWARD AND A SLACKER. He is a deceiver because he passes off his personal interests as the interests of the state. He is a coward because he attempts to shift responsibility to others. He is a slacker and an idler because he is always trying to get out of a job and delegate it to someone else...

Bureaucracy is a mass striving to come to rest. (And if it is in motion, then that is merely the result of inertia -- God forbid that there be any acceleration!) Today we are pinning great hopes on restructuring of our way of thinking, but what can be done with a bureaucrat? A bureaucrat is made, not born. But what can be done to ensure that someone who has already become a bureaucrat will change his way of thinking?

Hence the need to create a mechanism which would prod a bureaucrat into not being himself.

Designers and technicians, when they create complex systems, often use the term "foolproof," and such protection should ensure that the system will not harm people, either through error or through malicious intent. In the same way all of us, no matter where we work, are badly in need of a system to protect us from bureaucrats. And it seems to me that such a system would consist of a combination of democratic self-government and cost accounting. Plus openness.

And from time to time it would be very useful to look back, in order to gain a better understanding of our current mistakes and their connection with our previous ones. Without this, without thorough analysis of the mistakes of the past, without moral purification from past sins -- and we do have some! -- it will be difficult to move ahead.

I can predict that at this point dissatisfied voices can be heard:

"Why dredge it up again?"

And it is possible that the big guns of "theoreticians" of various calibers will be brought to play:

"And where will that lead us? Won't this settling of past accounts blind our eyes to the present?"

I have no doubt that this sort of counterattack by the opponents of restructuring will follow. I can already hear a rustling beyond the wallpaper...

WE WILL HAVE TO STAND OUR GROUND, UNAFRAID OF LABELS AND ACCUSATIONS, OF WHICH CERTAIN DILLETANTES HAVE A CONSIDERABLY LARGER STOCK THAN THEY DO ABILITY TO PERFORM THEIR JOBS.

...I began these comments by relating the impression which the 1987 production plan made on us. That was a general impression, about a general plan. And, of course, that does not mean that there are no films worth watching in the plan. Most probably there will be some worthwhile and interesting movies, we all simply wish that there were more of them.

Since spring there has lain on my desk a blank sheet of paper bearing the title of a future screenplay. And nothing else on the page. Firstly, I do not want to rush, I want to write differently somehow, and I do not want to use subjects which make it look like I am jumping on the current bandwagon. And, secondly, I simply have no time to write.

I have spent many boring hours at all kinds of meetings, but now I go to meetings eagerly. This is the first time they have interested me that much!

So far we are still drowning in a thousand questions, not always able to correctly decide which ones should take priority. We do not have enough... of the feel for bureaucracy or the ability to fill out papers correctly and send them on to higher-level organs. In some ways we are still disunited, not working together, and sometimes we get nowhere... But it is interesting!

It is interesting -- even very interesting! -- to observe the conflict of factions, the collision of vanities, the play of ambitions, how someone will get excited about his own affairs or root for his friends... What do you expect? After all, we are still the Cinematographers Union, not the Union of Holy Men, and the secretariat is no choir of angels either! But that's life. That's what makes it interesting.

What are we working on?

Briefly, you could say that we are writing a screenplay. But not for a movie, for the movie industry as a whole, deciding what it will be like. And we have no right to write a poor or even a mediocre screenplay -- only an outstanding one! Right now it is difficult to say how much time that will take, but most likely two years or longer...

And when it is done, I will have a right to feel unbelievably lucky: twice I have felt the huge wheel of History against my weak shoulder -- the first time as a mere boy, in the war, and now once again, in my latter years, the years of restructuring...

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CULTURE

MOLDAVIAN FILM UNION DISCUSSES RESTRUCTURING

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 19 Dec 86 p 4

[Article by M. Pashina under the rubric "Chronical of Cultural Affairs":
"Seeking Together"]

[Text] At a meeting of the expanded aktiv of the MSSR Cinematographers Union, in which movie dramatists B. Metalnikov and R. Ibragimbekov, secretaries of the USSR Cinematographers Union took part, a plan for a new moviemaking system was discussed.

What does the system which was submitted for discussion actually entail? This was outlined in brief by B. Metalnikov, who underscored its public-state nature.

The basic production unit in this system would be the studio, which would make a transition to principles of full cost accounting. This would mean that studios would have to pay their own way and would be granted creative and financial independence and freedom at all stages of the artistic process, and be relieved of petty and frequently unjustified tutelage. The studio's artistic council -- an elected organ -- would resolve all issues pertaining to the acceptance and subsequent production of screenplays, organization of cinema groups on a contract basis, etc. The council will also have complete responsibility for the ideological, artistic and distribution-related aspects of a movie... In addition, the plan provides for a clear-cut division of labor between the USSR Cinematographers Union and USSR Goskino, as well as for restructuring of the system of movie distribution and movie theater network, and many other things. The primary objective of the new system is creation of conditions (e.g. self-financing or creative independence) under which the production of a mediocre, dull, or, especially, an unsuccessful movie would be extremely disadvantageous to everyone involved in any way in the production process.

R. Ibragimbekov told of amendments to the plan which were proposed by Georgian cinematographers, consisting of two main points: guaranteed distribution of a new movie (one day at almost all our country's movie houses, enough to recoup the movie's production costs; the audience itself would determine the further

fate of the film in terms of distribution), and, secondly, clear-cut regulation of copyright with respect to the creation and use of a movie.

Proposals and comments relative to the proposed new system were made at the meeting of the MSSR Cinematographers Union aktiv by film researchers V. Andon and A.- M. Plamadyala, film dramatist A. Moldavskiy, director I. Mizha, MSSR Goskino chairman Ye. Sobor, artist and producer S. Bulgakov, MSSR Goskino's chief editor R. Suveyko, USSR people's artist M. Volontir, writer A. Strymbanu and many others.

The plan has not yet been completed. Discussions of it, which are currently underway among cinematographers, must in the final analysis the yield the optimum alternative, one which will take into account all details of the moviemaking system today, a system which is undergoing a process of restructuring and renewal.

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CULTURE

SCHOLAR URGES RESTRUCTURING IN SOVIET THEATER

PM131411 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Mar 87 First Edition p 3

[Article by Doctor of Art Studies M. Stroyeva under the "Polemical Comments" rubric: "The Other Side of the Curtain"]

[Text] The idea that the prevailing organization of the theater has outlived its time and requires decisive changes has been repeated so often of late that it has become virtually a truism. Everyone is agreed on this point. The paradox, however, has been that revolutionary measures were usually replaced by reformist measures as soon as they were conceived in the quiet of those very same offices and by the very same people who determined the theatrical climate in the first place.

There is indisputably much in the present reform of the theater that is attractive, pelasing to the eye, and soothing to the ear. Theaters should long, long ago have been freed from petty oversight by bureaucrats. But, when you think it over, the reform essentially promises not radical transformations but... consolidation of the old system. Instead of doing what is necessary, allowing the theater to develop freely, and stimulating the creation of a fundamentally new theater model offering great variety, it shores up the decrepit edifices.

Let us remember that our theater system, which took shape in the thirties, has been firmly based on the principle of strict hierarchy: At the top is located the realm of the academy theaters while lower down you find the bolast, city, and local theaters, in descending order of prestige. Such a system in principle represents far from democratic equality for all in art. After all, it is no secret to anyone that some academy theaters have lost their former prestige and that audiences prefer quite different theaters, being prepared to jostle one another in a cellar rather than sit in splendor on red velvet.

Oleg Yefremov was the first to say that "carthage must be destroyed" and to raise his hand against the long outmoded hierarchical system. He proposed splitting up the extremely overstaffed Moscow Arts Theater Company so that it could start afresh in an experimental way. (If only the theater had decided on this move 3 years ago, perhaps then we would not have lost so many irreplaceable directors...) But the "united majority" proved more conservative than its leader and rallied to turn his proposal down. How do we go on from here?

Unfortunately, while the Moscow Arts Theater example is perhaps the most acute today, it is not unique. The troupes of many theaters are so inflated in size that a director is in fact able to employ less than half the artists in the plays in the repertoire and the rest? The established procedure for reassessing artists proposes that people be retired on pension or simply discharged as surplus to requirements. But who can guarantee (even when there is an elected artistic council) that such measures will be completely fair? After all, quite often those who are regarded as "ballast" were once considered pretty promising. And what about the 20-25 young people who graduate from each theater VUZ every year? What are you to do with them? After all, it is not their fault that the theater troupes are overstaffed and that the actual number of people not working (especially actresses) is increasing.

What, then, is to be done? This is where we approach the main problem, the reason for which I wanted to write this article. It concerns the fate of the middle generation of directors, the directors of the seventies, who are sometimes even called the "lost generation," once young, now 35-45, who for a long time, too long, were kept as "beginners," then categorized as "run of the mill" and left there. The social situation could no longer carry them along (as it did those of the sixties) on its crest but swamped them instead. Not many resurfaced, and even those who did were not unscathed.

There are simply no jobs available? But why should our country not have at least 10 times as many theaters as it does now? Why do we just sit back and accept a situation where Moscow has fewer theaters than any other major European capital? Let there be more small, traveling theaters. We do not need vacant palaces capable of seating 1,500 people. Audiences are now clearly drawn to intimate theater and want direct personal contact, without all the paraphernalia of stage effects. Showy obsession with size has had its day, people are tired of its excesses.

Creative initiative is now going outside the portals of the "main" theaters and seeking a home in affiliate theaters, on small stages, in foyers, in rehearsal halls, on training stages, in "Red Corners," cellars, and even in boiler houses or abandoned dilapidated buildings until they are pulled down. You can no longer fail to notice that a widespread studio-theater movement is under way, which has always been a faithful companion of changes in the social climate. And we have finally "logged" 7-8 ownerless studios, which is excellent in itself, but was that enough?!

The restructuring of the theater cannot lag behind the decisive changes now taking place in every sphere of our society. Why not back up the initiative of a director and some actors who are enthused by a particular play. Then the problem for young dramatists of who is to stage and perform their work will be resolved by itself. The process of decentralization will also result in the active democratization of art.

Things began to move when directors like S. Danchenko, V. Pakhomov, L. Dodin, V. Fokin, Yu. Yerevin, G. Trostyanetskiy, V. Kokorin, and A. Borisov were appointed chief directors. The process of one generation taking over from another has begun, but it has failed to shake the overall theater system.

You may say that not every director can take charge of a theater? Not every one is reliable? Of course, with some people, even very talented ones, you get lots of bother. That is why ministry figures abandon the "untouchable" chiefs and prefer to deal with obedient, "manageable" people and then shift them from one theater to another (as, for example, happened with V. Nenashev, Ye. Stepantsev, G. Drozdov, Ye. Chermenev, A. Malyshev, and others). It is very much more difficult to cope with a willful, talented individual and it is better to get rid of him (as they did with F. Grigoryan in Tomsk, V. Malyshchitskiy in Leningrad, and I. Borisov in Novosibirsk). Life is quieter that way.

Take the example of Anatoliy Vasilyev, one of the most remarkably talented directors of the seventies, who possesses his own special artistic world and own way of working with actors. Is it not a waste that he had been able to put on only three productions in 20 years and that they have not been retained in the repertoire anywhere. Has anyone considered that a rare individual like Vasilyev has long needed his own microclimate, a microclimate that falls outside the plan. How is it that, to our shame, Vasilyev is to this day without his own theater.

Many people will remember how easy the life of such a talented man as Roman Viktyuk was at the outset. Twenty years ago he put on his celebrated production of L. Petrushevskaya's "Music Lessons" at Moscow State University's student theater, which everyone in the Moscow theater world went to see. Here was the occasion for a new theatrical venture to get off the ground. But no: The show "folded" and the studio sought a home. Viktyuk rushed around various theaters.

Or the fate of such serious directors as Leonid Kheifets, Petr Fomenko, Ion Unguryan, Vladimir Portnov, Kama Ginkas, Laeksandr Vilkin, and others. They have been and are to this day mostly placed in a subordinate position. They are forced to buckle under to other's authority. And although every one of their productions clearly shows that they should be given their head, no one will tell any of them "Stop! Enough of this dashing about all over the place and being just one of the crowd. It is time to set up your own theater." No, you will not hear such words.

I have been discussing the more or less "fortunate" cases, the people who in some way or another are working in the theater. But what about those who have not gotten fixed up with any job at all? And there are far more of them. And, what is more, every year the A.V. Lunacharskiy State Institute for the Theater Arts produces more and more new talented people for whom there is no job. What is to be done with them?

In my view, one solution only suggests itself here: /We must have more theaters./ [passage between slantlines printed in boldface] Theaters big, small, permanent, temporary; theaters created for a single play, one-actor theaters, and studios which appeal to their own kind of director. It is undoubtedly time to break up into smaller units all the excessively bloated and overstaffed troupes and divide them up among the various theaters, to give all the affiliates and small stages to the directors who have long merited this. The major theater concerns, which now have three stages each, should not be stingy and grudging of their assets but should distribute them to the "needy"!

The mechanism whereby new theaters are created must be drastically simplified. I believe that the recreated unions of theater workers will be capable of operating more flexibly here. It is scarcely to be hoped that certain theaters will forsake of their own accord their customary privileges and lofty titles, which have not always been backed up by a pool of outstanding talent. It is time to think about whether the very title "academy" might not be more usefully awarded temporarily to a theater which really deserves it today rather than as something to be given in perpetuity. The new climate will not tolerate the vain pursuit of honorific titles and awards, which has become an end in itself for some people.

A grass-roots movement is already under way. With the active and authoritative help of its union, the theater has begun to destroy the fossilized hierarchical pyramid and go beyond the formalized institution into the open space of vital democratic development of the stage.

/12232

CSO: 1800/438

SOCIAL ISSUES

HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY, ABUSES DISCUSSED

PM121547 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No.10, 8 Mar p 13

[Political Analyst Dmitriy Kazutin article: "Masters in Our Own Home. On Human Rights"]

[Text] The April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee provided the following terse formula for the idea of democratization: "...Socialist democracy must not be understood as an abstract notion. It remains, as before, the tool for developing the economy, for the growth of people's activities and for the communist education of the masses."

It was the seed, the essence of the idea in its pure form, so to speak.

Then we could follow in the more important party documents in the past almost two years now, and in the reports on the trips of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee over the country, his many meetings and talks, how the idea gathered strength, matured, developed in greater detail so as to form an independent section of the Political Report at the 27th Congress. This January we beheld it as the core of reconstruction's entire philosophy. That was how, for the first time in the memory of my generation, we witnessed the public and open forming of the general line in the Party's policy.

At his recent meeting with the leaders of mass media and propaganda organs, Mikhail Gorbachev deemed it necessary to stress: "The main idea of the January Plenary Meeting, from the point of view of dealing with all the problems, is the development of democracy... But on a socialist basis."

A decisive turn has been made towards the practical solution of the problem, posed by Lenin in the first postrevolutionary years: "To date we haven't achieved a situation where the masses of working people would be able to take part in management--because besides the law there is also the cultural level which cannot be subordinated to any law." Because of the low cultural level, only the advanced, but relatively not so numerous, stratum of the proletariat could be involved in management. This situation was fraught with the possibility of bureaucratic pervasions. [as published] Experience showed us that later on this possibility had often been translated into reality.

The worst thing of all was that the forms of organization of society that had taken shape were absolute. The theoretical concepts on socialism remained at

the level of the 30s and 40s. But the general educational and cultural level of the Soviet people has been raised very high, and their social and political experience has become enriched. Therefore, the opportunity and the need of each and every citizen to take part in the managing of affairs of society to take part in the managing of affairs of society and the state have grown to a tremendous extent.

The ignoring of these opportunities and needs blocked socialism's development. However, the simple and clear idea was becoming ever more embedded in the public mind--that only people who feel they are masters of their own house can put it in order. Democratization acquired the status of historic necessity.

The 27th Congress provided a programme for democratization--for the practical expansion of the Soviet people's right and freedoms.

Only a year has passed, but there are some results apparent already. The rights of the Soviets have been legally expanded. The executive system is losing its exclusive power and is being made subordinate to elective organs. The entire nation is discussing the Draft Law on State Enterprise, which envisages, in particular, the election of administrators. Such elections have already been held in many places. Individual enterprises has been legalized. Steps are being taken to develop cooperation. The team contract and family contract methods of work have been legally recognized. Measures are being discussed on raising the authority of the courts, and on strictly observing their independence. Draft laws are being prepared to guarantee openness and establish the order of officials who are guilty of impinging on the citizens' rights.

The January Central Committee Plenary Meeting gave a broad-scale theory of reconstruction and arrived at an extremely important conclusion. Its essence is that democratization is not only a most important condition for the renewal of all aspects of social life, but is also a guarantee of the irreversibility of this process, a guarantee against a repetition of past mistakes.

Such are the facts, and I repeat, facts of only one year. And here I must draw attention to a key circumstance.

Since democratization started in our country, the Western propaganda has been overflowing with advice, lectures and, of course, gloating--they (i.e., us) won't be able to escape democracy. And the advice givers, lecturers and gloaters travel from the premise that Soviet society must develop in the direction of bourgeois democracy, bourgeois rights and freedoms. That is probably why they often replace the word "democratization" with "liberalization." And this, of course, is no slip of the tongue, or a slip of the tongue which is of a fundamental, a decisive significance.

Attempts are made all the time to pose before us the liberal-democratic model, up to which, in their opinion, we haven't yet risen and which, as they think, we should look at, like in a mirror, changing, according to the model, our image or, to be more precise, our way of life. But even children, if they are smart, know the treacherous nature of a mirror reflection--everything left becomes right in a mirror, and everything right becomes left.

Fritz Vilmar, Professor of Political Science at the Free University in West Berlin, who has made an interesting observation of the political life in one of the leading capitalist countries, relieves me of the need to provide the necessary explanation of basic truths. Here is what he writes: "No wonder the conservative and liberal parties in West Germany, as distinct from their predecessors, who feared the ideas of the French Revolution, now lay claims to these ideas, but in their 'diluted' form by putting forward the same main values--freedom, justice and solidarity. They realized that these ideas, taken by themselves, are so abstract that, for example, freedom can be easily interpreted as freedom of enterprise, and solidarity--with all the groups in the whole world whose interests are impinged upon."

If the leaders of West German conservative and liberal parties were not so much prejudiced against Marx, he would have helped them make this discovery much earlier. As early as 1843 Karl Marx remarked caustically that all bourgeois human rights boil down to one right--the right to private ownership.

The socialist public ownership which does away with the very possibility of exploitation of man by man is a tremendous step towards the complete triumph of social justice. Because of that socialist human rights are also higher, broader and more substantial than the bourgeois rights. The socialist complex of human rights also includes the rights that had been proclaimed by the Great French Revolution, the rights provided by the Great October Socialist Revolution, and the rights that have been gained in the course of socialist construction and the rights which we are establishing today in the course of our society's democratization.

I'll not repeat the things which have already been mentioned many times--the right to work, to education, to health protection and the access to the achieved spiritual riches. But isn't the right to elect administrators of enterprises, the right to control the activities of officials of any rank, to systematically hear their reports and to publicly criticize them, the prerogative of a worker, a co-owner of socialist property? The same can be said about the nationwide discussion of drafts of the more important state laws. Or maybe, the genuine openness of state and public life, on which we insist, is in discord with civic rights? And all these rights are innate in socialism and secure its full-blooded life.

A certain paradox emerges. For many years we lived under the fire of criticism, coming from beyond the looking glass, so to speak. At best, we were criticized for violating human rights, and at worst--for their alleged complete, and even principled, absence in our society. j As for principles, it is enough to refer people to our Constitution.

The violations are something else altogether. To be honest, we must admit that in recent years we sometimes provided ourselves pretexts for attacks on us. And even though these violations were above all the violations of the spirit, and very often, also of the letter, of our own laws, this does not and cannot justify anybody. One of the main aims of democratization is to make all such abuses impossible.

mentioned a paradox. As democratization, purification and renewal of public life achieve real successes, the critical voices from beyond the looking glass should gradually get quieter and in the long run become silent for good. Is such a thing possible?

Let's think about this. A political drama was played out in Voroshilovgrad. A journalist had been framed and arrested. This kind of arbitrary action could go unpunished in other times. And if such a story had then become known beyond the looking glass, I can well imagine the sensation it would have produced there.

The times, however, have changed, the PRAVDA newspaper has made the Voroshilovgrad affair public. The USSR Procurator's Office intervened in the affair. The people directly guilty of lawlessness were severely punished, and the chief of the regional KGB administration was dismissed. But that isn't all. The article "Beyond the Last Line," published by PRAVDA, was discussed at the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine. The facts mentioned in the article were assessed not only juridically, but also politically. B. Goncharenko, First Secretary of the Voroshilovgrad Regional Party Committee, was relieved of his post.

What do our professional critics have left after this? To hail the increased role of the press in public life, the effectiveness of its criticisms and the establishment of openness? This could hardly arouse their enthusiasm.

Let's take another story. Academician A. Sakharov's name has made headlines in Western newspapers for many years. Now Sakharov has returned to Moscow and took part in the International Forum "For a Nuclear-Free World, for the Survival of Humanity." The Western journalists, as usual, stormed him, but no sensations ensued. Because it is hard to regard it as a sensation an interview in which the Academician says that he'd like to go to Gorkiy for some time to pick up the belongings he had left there, and he'd like to work in peace.

If things carry on like this, and we have good grounds to think that they will, then some of our old acquaintances beyond the looking glass are running the risk of being left unemployed. Because they couldn't really start persuading us that democratization would bring us much trouble and that the stagnation of the 70s and the early 80s was the golden age of our history to which we simply must go back.

To tell the truth, it was their golden age. "Sliding socialism" suited them just fine. They spoke of democracy and human rights in the USSR and firmly believed that this was an eternal theme for them. Well, they were not the first ones to be let down by their underestimation of the adversary's forces and possibilities.

No, I'm far from thinking that they will lay down their arms now. The more so that democratization is proceeding not as easily and simply as one would wish it to proceed. It has its enemies among the people who never had it so good as they did in the "years of stagnation." So, maybe, our Western "teachers" will try to address their sermons precisely to these people? The "teachers"

don't like socialism itself, in contrast to the retreats from it. Therefore, if there will be no reason to protect "human rights," then why not start defending "bureaucratic rights?" One thing is clear--the more socialism will reveal its capabilities, the more they will have to dodge, shift and simply lie. This is their job, and I must say it is a job harmful for health.

/12913

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SOCIAL ISSUES

PRE-1985 DISSENT VIEWED

PM171521 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 9, 1 Mar 87 pp 11-12

[Len Karpinskiy article: "It's Ridiculous To Waver Before An Open Door"]

[Text] Soviet citizens are speaking today more frankly--they call a spade a spade. Until recently one could only dream of such openness. As you can imagine, it's even harder for me, a lifelong journalist, to suppress my unfulfilled desire to add my own voice to the voices of others who, like me, are hoping for a social renewal.

Therefore, when I was invited to the MN building and asked: "Don't you think it high time we return to a certain controversial subject considering the lesson of truth that was taught us?" I agreed immediately: "Of course, it's long overdue. Only didn't you, in approaching me, make a mistake? I'm not a dissident. Nor have I even identified myself with dissidents." "Don't try to avoid the issue," I was told. "Weren't you expelled from the Party in the mid-70s precisely for 'views incompatible with a CPSU member'? Therefore, a dissident is precisely what you are, and an officially certified one, at that. So let's hear it!"

So you see, the subject presented to me immediately became a topic necessary to discuss. I could discuss that which before would have only been condemned. Because of some ill will the foreign word "dissidents" has acquired a very broad interpretation here in the USSR. Strictly speaking, a dissident is a person who professes a religion different from the one recognized by the state in a given country. In other words, a dissident is a person who adheres to some other religion, an apostate or, in Russian, a "basurman"--a noun which has always been a swearword in the vernacular. And the sculpted image of dissidents is also "basurmanic"--they're simply a bunch of spiritual aliens who slander their own people. There's no debating it.

This insular way of thinking very well suited those who were prepared to label any Soviet citizen's openly expressed criticism of the realities in social life as a "hostile act." Quite often I would hear: "Don't you know into whose hands you are playing? Don't you know anything about the confrontation of forces in the world--about the subversive activities of socialism's ideological enemies? Whom does our self-criticism benefit?" In connection with this, I too, would like to ask a few questions.

What does the Western side wish to achieve by playing the "dissidents' card?" Is it really concerned over the plight of dissidents, whom it is so fond of, or maybe it is vitally interested in instilling democracy in socialist society? No, the ploys of cold war activists convince us that the latter need "dissidents," the multiplying of their numbers and are glad when critics are muzzled. They count on there being here as little glasnost as possible and, therefore, as many people as possible (i.e., "dissidents") persecuted for speaking their minds openly. Why are we being manipulated into becoming accomplices in this game? Maybe this is done so as to collect evidence of some "Soviet threat," of socialism's "fundamental aggressiveness" as a social system--saying that it is impossible to trust its peaceful intentions within the world community, if the system cannot even live in peace with its own compatriots, and if it regards its opponents as targets to "strike out at" and "shoot at?"

On the other hand, didn't we, too, here in our own country, also have a certain group of influential persons who had a vested interest in describing any criticism as "dissent" and critics as dissidents? This, of course, is very nice because one does have to answer criticism and react to it. But there is always only one answer to hostile attacks. The voice of one's own people at least deserves formal attention, but the voice of an "alien"--deserves nothing more than a firm rebuff and nipping in the bud. This doesn't mean that the propaganda centres abroad and some of our own high-placed officials had some sort of an agreement of the joint utilization of dissidents. This is excluded. But modern history, with its complex pattern of world interconnections, often doesn't inquire about the subjective intentions of those who belong to the different forces confronting each other. Instead it quietly guides their actions into some one, or similar, direction.

The above doesn't at all signify that all those who were in conflict with some phenomena or other in our country were morally impeccable. They included overambitious people and small individuals spoiling for a fight. There also were some who wanted to gain notoriety at home, expecting thus to earn a place abroad. I'm also not trying to say that frank opponents of socialist principles--who are against Soviet power not because it fails in some things, but because it has firmly existed for 70 years now--don't exist today. But, then, that's a different question. Who, then, needed to mix these two utterly different aspects of social sentiment, and substitute the image of a foe for the image of a sincere polemist who wishes to discuss and argue in favour of socialism? And why did they need to do this? As a result of this legerdemain the "intellectual conscience" of a socialist individual (as I recollect someone called it) who simply cannot go against his or her own convictions was attacked. And it was this conscience that was beaten up.

Therefore, disagreement with certain phenomena in the country's life was a trait of many people from all strata of our society up till 1985. They included active and thinking people. And, since we're being frank, I'd like to say that the critical attitude to what is going on ("dissent") was aimed from the first at a certain whole. The seemingly disjointed facts stubbornly gathered into something common which surfaced from every particular. Today's new realization of social realities--produced by the April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and, later on, by the subsequent all-

embracing transforming work of the Party--has left no doubts that this malignant "whole" was for many years (and still is, although it has been fundamentally given the boot) bureaucracy.

Hardly more was said and written in our country about anything else than about the need for developing democracy and waging a resolute struggle against bureaucracy. And hardly anything else was developing so slowly and with such difficulty as did democracy, or blossomed so vigorously and luxuriantly as bureaucracy did. The interconnection is natural, as it is in communicating vessels--the higher is the level in one, the lower it is in the other.

The consequences of all that are now universally recognized. When assessing them in the Political Report of the Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress, Mikhail Gorbachev said: "The problems in the country's development grew more rapidly than they were being solved. The inertness and rigidity of the forms and methods of management, the decline of dynamism in our work, and increased bureaucracy--all this was doing no small damage. Signs of stagnation had begun to surface in the life of society."

While the cadres decided everything (down to trifles) in a narrow circle, i.e., precisely in a bureaucratic manner, the country was waiting in waiting rooms. We were constantly discovering a score of new taboos in place of yesterday's ten; and 50 new "musts" in place of yesterday's 20 which we had just become used to. A [set of] 50 obligatory "coordinations" turned into 100 or 200 under our very eyes. Many things stagnated, grew obsolete morally and physically, or perished altogether. And very rarely was anyone ever elated by this.

Since we are now being frank about our present, let's also be frank about our past. Today we realize that we would have to pay with loss of the people's confidence in socialism for a retreat from the way of reconstruction that we have chosen. But we already had to pay a part of this price when there was no reconstruction or when it was only initiated, and when the possibility of the appearance of the present-day revolutionary formula--"more socialism, therefore more democracy"--was practically beyond the boldest expectations. The critical trend in our social awareness was spreading about at all of its levels and in all of its forms in the atmosphere of social immobility and stagnation. It was a mass-scale frame of mind--single in its object, but different in the scope of its application and the nature of its assessments of reality, and, which is the main thing--in the choice of one's own stand and of the answer to the question: "Where then, is the way out?"

The beginning of many questions and answers date back to 1956, to the 20th CPSU Congress, which was of tremendous importance in fostering political awareness in my generation. However, its role wasn't simple, if the present-day reconstruction, substantiated by the 27th CPSU Congress, is openly aimed at the transformation of the "roots" of our social edifice, and the attempts made by some forces, interested in doing so, to reduce it all to a "face-lift" are being rejected ahead of time and perspicaciously, then, as we know, in 1956 and later on, we failed to follow the wise maxim: "Look at the core." It is possible to say now that the 20th Party Congress revealed, by its

objective meaning, developed and exacerbated the social need for the 27th Congress. But three decades were to go by before it was held.

Forces, which correctly assessed the situation in the economy, took shape within the Central Committee, the leading core of the Party, by April 1985. They realized the need for a steep turn in the life of the country and put forward the idea of accelerating its development. The Party documents determined the initial steps of reconstruction.

The party's leading core acts here as a live, pulsing flesh, within which definite personal forces move and get together, and the fate of ripe social changes depends in a great measure on this. Another question--did these forces realize the need for and the essence of the turning point, even before they had gotten together and "had taken shape" firmly in the Party's leading core? Yes, they did. Otherwise, how would they have been able to find each other? And where else would the reconstruction concept, substantiated in an all-round manner, come from so soon? Let's ask still another question: should we admit that other Soviet people, living on the other floors of the social edifice, also realized quite a lot? Of course, we should, because the reconstruction idea immediately met with broad-scale support. It has already been noted that even today, when so much is changing in our life, the people who are restless and engaged in challenges are still finding life difficult. But, today these people are in line with the spirit of the times, with the universally recognized aspirations and renewed approaches. Yesterday, it had been much more difficult for them.

We know from times immemorial the type of people who are prepared to happily obey their boss no matter what, because, in their opinion, the boss is the embodiment of their native land. However, we have also seen the type of person, prepared to castigate his or her boss with anger and indignation, who, at the same time, also identifies the boss with the entire country, its present and future. The identification "by attraction" is being replaced with identification "by rejection." The number of bosses is extremely large and it is really hard to discern anything from behind a broad back--one tends to see only this broad back.

One example comes to mind--an old acquaintance of mine, a prominent theatre person from Moscow, who has not left the country. In the year just before going abroad, he often stayed with his friends in a picturesque locality not far from Moscow, near where I lived. Time and again we strolled by the river and conversed. He always spoke about one and the same thing--about the conflicts his company had with the cultural administration, about the bans and cavils with which he was harassed all the time. He spoke, never deviating from a subject so painful for him. He never noticed the impression he made on me or anything around him--neither the sunset, nor the rustle of bushes, nor the scent of grass. It was all very sad, even a bit scary. "Why are you so frustrated?" I asked him in my mind. "I feel like I'm being smothered!" he seemed to answer.

Can you imagine how a person must feel when the light coming from his country is blocked by the shadow of an armchair warrior? It's a tragedy. And I must say that only a mere two years were left before the resolute change set in the

say that only a mere two years were left before the resolute change set in the country. In particular, the theatre reform, on the basics of which my acquaintance had been working till the day before he left the country, is now being implemented. Maybe the fate of one talented individual shows better than any abstract arguments that leaving is not a good solution to the problem.

The realization of the common nature of the historical destinies of one's own people, and, hence, of one's own involvement in these destinies, has always been the essence of patriotic consciousness and the feelings caused by the latter. Most important in this concept of patriotism is that history is embraced by it in all time dimensions--not only the past (through the significance of traditions is tremendous), but also the present and especially the future. It embraces the common involvement of yesterday, through a common involvement today and into a common involvement tomorrow. In this context the patriotism of each generation includes also its own uniqueness, its own contribution to the people's common lot. The possibility to make such a contribution, including a personal contribution, is the highest value for people, and the impossibility to do so--the worst of woes.

In the long run, the choice of one's own fate always depends on a person's world outlook. This is the case because the choice does not depend on reality (which is the same for everybody) but on our own attitude to this reality. Did the socialist ideal, as the best possible lot for the people, remain the highest value, which one has to stick to no matter what and to the end, in these critical conditions, too? Or, to be honest, can it be that it never became such a value for man and then simply turned into empty words? It was not simply a frontier, but a Rubicon. The critics of reality got situated, as it were, on opposite banks of "real socialism." Seeing its grave difficulties within the bureaucratic reality, while others simply shifted all the ugly features of this reality onto socialism itself. Some came into conflict with socialism because of reality, and others got into a quarrel with reality because of socialism. Some, captivated by the socialist ideal, got into a tiff with the times; others captured by this "temporary" time got into tiff with the ideal itself.

I wish to stress once again that it was very difficult to determine one's stand, because included among many of our everyday scarcities, there still remained the main scarcity--that of socialism. It was this fundamental "scarcity" of the supreme social quality that was the reason, as we are now beginning to grasp gradually, for all the other scarcities--big and small. A crowd of "existents" with their motto--"we don't care, for we have to live"--has appeared with its indifference to the fate of our movement. And to top it all, the scholastic ideologists--the inventors of the "model method" in social science, according to which "if the facts don't fit the diagram, too bad for the facts"--were persistently stupefying millions of people every day.

Let's try to transfer, in our mind's eye, at least the things we are now freely expressing (including from the highest rostrums) into the recent past. What would have been the finale if many of today's revelations had been voiced in the conditions of the past? Because at the time the biblical commandment--

"judge not, that ye be not judged"--sounded as a grim juridical truism. And so it happened--a person was simply not up to stifling within himself the need to grasp the times truthfully (if such a need did arise), but neither did he have the opportunity to express it normally. But, after all, what good would bureaucracy be if it were not able to defend itself? And it did know how (and, I suppose, is still able to defend itself.)

I belong--not only by education, by mature world outlook, but also by my family tradition and professional know-how--among men of principle, for whom the cause of socialism and challenges within it, of scientific study of its problems had become a vital and quite personal cause very early in life. Therefore, there were moments--especially when my patience was wearing out or when I learned about some terrible outrage, during which, in spite of the knowledge of life as it was then and the possible consequences for myself--when to keep silent was tantamount to forgiving a personal insult or a slap in the face. (I'll mention some facts later on.) As you realize, a choice in such a situation is a pure conventionality, because really there is no choice. The same as there is no choice in Hamlet's "to be or not to be," in spite of the fact that the famous question contains the word "or." It is to be, of course, to be one's own self! To carry a Party card in one's breast pocket, but to be always secretly ready to let the Party down and to have no head on one's shoulders presents an ugly mixture which, in my opinion, is abhorrent to human and Communist nature.

Here are some examples from my own life. In 1967, a prominent journalist and I wrote and published an article, "On the Road to a Premiere," in which we criticized expressions of the bureaucracy's unnatural invasion of art, the impermissibility of which has clearly been stated today. Naturally, both my co-author and myself had to almost immediately leave our former (quite prominent) jobs. Some time later, when I was already working in another periodical, I argued against the political correctness of printing a number of items. This time the reaction was also quite swift, without undue "red tape." I had to take a job at a research institute and go in for sociological studies.

During some later, more difficult, personal experiences I probably hold a grudge for being a sort of Don Quixote. In my spare time I started collecting unpublished studies on the history and theory of socialist society. Since some of these texts contained conclusions and assessments, which did not conform to the then generally accepted ideas, my opinion and "activities" were judged as being incompatible with Party membership.

Today, apparently, I could say that back then I was trying to crash a closed, but correctly found door--the one that has been opened now. Therefore, for me the turning point within the Party and the country is also a tremendous personal joy. Hope now exists--and, maybe, my views (regarded 12 years ago as incompatible with Party membership) are incompatible only with, as writer Sergey Zalygin aptly put it recently, our "homespun, bureaucratic, Soviet, socialist conservatism?" However, joy gives rise to a similarly acute emotion. Events which conform to your cherished hopes and convictions of long standing are gaining momentum, but you are sitting on a fence, instead of contribution all you have to the common cause.

Not everybody, I think, has realized that we are moving into a changing society. Because the state of arrogant immobility and the state of critically-realized movement are notions diametrically opposed to each other. The January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenary Meeting has a special significance in this sense. I don't know about others, but a meaningful political thought always makes me elated. It's great that, in our time, at long last, it is pushing rhetorical banalities disguised as truth out of public life. The political analysis of the progress of reconstruction made at the Plenary Meeting will enable all of our society's vital forces to be included into the renewing of our society. As the result of this many of the personal stands people have taken in regard to the former state of our society are changing. The opposition to it (if it were honest) must turn into active participation in the practical building of the new life. The criticism addressed to the old state is to get blended with the work on the consolidation of the changes. It's ridiculous to waver before an open door. One should enter as soon as he or she hears the invitation, "come in."

The majority are already beginning to feel the elation caused by the first involvements in this collective, innovative work. And, on the contrary, I don't envy those who still hope to get self-determined outside the common historic destiny of their compatriots. It is nothing terrible to arrive late to a set table, but it's dangerous to be late for energetic work and for the baking of the bread.

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CSO: 1812/126

SOCIAL ISSUES

'HUMANISM' DEFEATS 'OPENNESS' IN MOSCOW NEWS FABLE

PM181009 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 10, 8 Mar 87 p 13

[Leonid Likhodeyev article under rubric "A Drop of Water Wears Away a Stone:" "Humanists"]

[Text] It came the turn of our boss. He has occupied his post for quite a long time, from about, say, the Mesozoic period. As soon as dinosaurs died out, he stepped in and has not left it since.

He is like all bosses. He is no genius and does not allow others to be one. He makes no inventions and does not want others to do so. He sees to it that modesty is the rule. It must be said that he watches with a vigilant eye. Many of us left this world as modest citizens. But he kept his post longer than many of us because of being overmodest.

They say that time is the best judge, as if no one can outlive it, as if it fears no bosses at all. I think it is an exaggeration. But anyhow, time was afraid of our boss. It did not even peep into our office. So we lived outside time and served. Time was by itself, as we were.

But when new trends set in we were struck by a brainwave. Of course, it came from outside, flew into the window from the fresh wind of transformations. It flew in, sat on the card-index and said:

"Pension off your Retrograde! Now his turn has come." At first we tried to get rid of it but then thought: "That's right! It is his turn! It had become boring to see him sitting there so long. Better to look at him in a museum, as a relic."

The brainwave did not calm down, but flapped its wings.

It said: "I have made arrangements with time. It will visit you twice a week. So, you must act. As soon as the time comes, drive him out. Or, speaking scientifically, push him down from his comfy perch to a well-deserved rest. Medical aid is free in our country, honour and respect the more so. You may tell him 'CIAO' and that is all."

Indeed, the time came and we began pushing our boss down his roost.

We went on pushing him but he kept sitting. Again, but he carried on sitting. We told him that thanks to his leadership we had scored such and such achievements, to try to sugar his pension. Only he mustn't cry. But he remained seated.

And he said: "I have got used to my chair and cannot take any other furniture. I don't even know how to use a stool."

We pushed him again. He didn't budge.

"I shall guide you a little longer."

We then became bolder, afraid of ourselves, and went on pushing him. We intimidated him with new perspectives and new trends. One of us, the most desperate, even mumbled something about openness. We were about to overthrow him, flushed with the anticipation of our victory.

Then suddenly he screwed up his eyes and said:

"But I am ill."

No sooner had he said this than we were all conscience-stricken. And again we flushed, but this time not in anticipation of victory but in a fit of humanism. How had we failed to take this into account? Isn't it clear if a person is ill, the right thing for him to do is to set in a chair? We nearly pushed him off his roost. No, brothers, we didn't have a heart. And concrete humanism flowed out of us as if from a horn of plenty.

"Please accept our humble apologies, we are not in a hurry."

"Well, let him sit. We don't mind, maybe he'll fall down himself."

In short, we felt sorry for him. To be on the safe side we chucked out the person who had mumbled something about openness. Let him not spoil the ideal of humanism.

Good heavens, is there anyone who'll pity us?

/12913

CSO: 1812/126

SOCIAL ISSUES

RSFSR PAPER WRITES FURTHER ON DISSIDENT AID FUND

PM181321 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Mar 87 First Edition p 5

[K. Yuryev article: "Swindlers' Donors. About Those Who Continue Attempts To Shake Socialism, and About Our Readers' Attitude to Them"; first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] "Esteemed editors! We members of a fitter team in the 'Elektromash' Plant's APTK [expansion unknown] shop have read the article 'Operation Fund' and wish to say through your newspaper: All attempts by socialism's enemies to undermine our country's strength and the Soviet people's unity are in vain! Of course, everyone is well aware of the old Russian proverb which states that 'there is a black sheep in every family,' and our enemies are making the utmost effort to seek out individual degenerates and renegades and recruit them for their dirty deeds. But there are only a few such people in our country. This is why the subversive anti-Soviet operations like 'Operation Fund' mounted in the West fail and will continue to do so. On behalf of the team collective --V. Pirkashchikov, Gorkiy."

This is just one of the many letters the editors have received since the publication of K. Yuryev's article "Operation Fund" (SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 18 July 1986).

The letter writers are unanimous in their indignation at the actions of those Western imperialist circles which still hope to succeed if not in undermining then at least in "squeezing" socialism and denigrating the Soviet way of life. They are trying, albeit in vain, to create in our country some kind of illegal center to conduct subversive anti-Soviet activity under cover of philanthropic slogans. It is with good reason that readers evaluate this venture launched through the agency of Western special services as a hostile action and an attempt to interfere in the USSR's internal affairs which flouts the elementary norms of international law. After the article was published, a number of Soviet citizens who willy-nilly, found themselves involved in the fund's activities in the past also sent letters to the editors and placed the information they had at the disposal of the competent organs. The facts reported by them make it possible to gain a fuller idea of the dirty methods used by foreign special services and what their agents are like.

It is known that, although the fund, as its charter drawn up in the West proclaims, was supposedly set up just to "aid the physical survival of those

persecuted for political reasons," in fact it certainly did not engage in philanthropic activity, nor did it fund some mythical "fighters for ideas" but a quite definite circle of people who had embarked on a path of crime. You only have to leaf through the lists of those who have been objects of the fund's "good works." One Lubman, who composed a fat work entitled "Impromptu for Mr Turner, CIA," containing recommendations on how to "destroy the USSR, using any means available," and tried to send it abroad via a female courier from Italy.... M. Kazachkov, a failed spy who set himself up specially in a scientific research institute in order (he himself admitted this) to acquire secret information and sell it to the CIA.... A certain K., a habitual thief who began his criminal career by stealing from a workers' canteen and ended it by composing anonymous letters full of slander against Soviet power.... The same list includes a whole string of former fascist hangers-on, policemen, and goons sentenced in the past for betraying the motherland and killing Soviet people.

It would be wrong, however, to think that all particularly dangerous criminals without exception in the USSR are the object of the foreign "philanthropists'" good works. The fund's organizers orient their agents toward carrying out a kind of selection among people serving court sentences, selecting those who are ready to commit anti-Soviet acts for the sops made available to them. We know the state of A. Ginzburg, the fund's first "manager": "Only persons convicted for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda and also for betrayal of the motherland in the form of a conspiracy for the purpose of seizing power who have not condemned their own activity while in prison may enjoy the right to use the fund." And we have before us further proof that the fund is regarded in the West, above all, as a means of encouraging anti-Soviet activity--a statement by V. Kuvakin, who for a number of years considered himself "at home" in a milieu connected with anti-Soviet centers: "The fund's chief purpose is certainly not to give material assistance to prisoners and their families but to sustain active anti-Sovietists and dissidents." And so it really is.

At the same time, documents confirm once again that encouraging anti-Soviet sentiments among particularly dangerous criminals with the help of financial injections and inciting them to illegal actions is not the fund's sole task. This subversive center was also conceived right from the start as a kind of illegal firm in the unsavory, to put it mildly, commercial espionage business--but a very lucrative one for Western special services and anti-Soviet centers. In it the foreign "fighters for democracy" appeared in the role of salesmen. The "commodity" was either information of interest to Western intelligence services or various kinds of slanderous anti-Soviet materials "fit" to be published in the bourgeois press and broadcast over the airwaves of Western radio stations while citing "reliable sources" in the USSR.

"I have reliable information that one A. Podrabinek, one of the most active figures in the fund, received R250-300 a month from the fund over a long period for sending various kinds of slanderous lampoons to the West," V. Kuvakin writes in a statement to the law enforcement organs. "After court proceedings were instituted against Podrabinek, the fund's leaders, with the blessing of their foreign bosses, immediately allocated him a 'special incentive' of R8,000 to buy his own house. Or take another example connected with my own illegal

activity. In 1980 I was in urgent need of a large sum of money to produce tendentious antisocial materials. Without turning to any of the fund's Moscow managers, I telephoned the well-known anti-Sovietist (Lyubarskiy) in Munich, who has close connections with the fund. Literally the day after that telephone conversation the requisite sum was handed to me in Moscow without any questions. The fund managers themselves did not hide the fact that they paid for various kinds of fabricated information of interest to the West or just for signatures to particular 'appeals' and 'messages from dissidents.' True, they did not cough up very generously--R10-15 per signature. But they paid punctually. It was clear to them that the more the ranks of 'dissidents' multiplied on paper, the more financial revenue there would be from the West."

This question is appropriate here: Who is (Lyubarskiy), whose orders are executed so zealously by the fund's activists? In the past he was one of the recidivist Ginzburg's closest assistants, an astrophysicist by training and an anti-Sovietist by profession. Having settled in Ginzburg's house in Tarusa, it was he who ran all the fund's affairs.

Later, now in the West, (Lyubarskiy) unexpectedly saw for himself that once he had crossed the border, his former bosses lost interest in him to a considerable extent and certainly did not show any inclination toward their former financial generosity. In the end, however, (Lyubarskiy) was picked by one of the anti-Soviet centers. And he makes a living out of anti-Sovietism.

But let us return to the question of how Western specialists in subversive operations and their agents operate under the roof of the illegal and supposedly "charitable" fund and what they strive for. In addition to Kuvakin, Olga O., a Zhitomir Oblast resident, reports a characteristic fact. Some time ago her brother Sergey, a habitual criminal, found himself once again in the dock. He was sentenced to a long term of imprisonment for stealing firearms. Several months passed, and suddenly O. began to be intensively cajoled by Mr and Mrs Tanengolts, who introduced themselves as fund activists. Hypocritically sympathizing with Olga, they offered to give "disinterested material assistance to Sergey" in order to "alleviate his hard lot." "Disinterested?" Olga expressed amazement. "Yes, yes, just a little thing is required of you--a letter from your brother, just a brief note about what a hard time he is having...." "At first I believed their words and hoped that they really could help my brother, but gradually, on associating with Tanengolts and others who called themselves friends of my brother, I realized that they not only would not help Sergey but would only harm him," Olga O. attests. "They were not interested in my brother's fate but in a certain sort of information which they passed to the West, receiving money in return. And I broke off all relations with those people."

It is known that methods match the ends. Having set the task of interfering in our country's affairs, organizing provocations, and spreading slanderous fabrications about the USSR, the fund's foreign creators acted accordingly: They tried to set up an illegal anti-Soviet center with all the appropriate attributes--secret communications channels, a system of couriers [Svyazniki].... Here are extracts from letters which Stolyarova, a fund activist, sent to one of the foreign anti-Soviet centers: "The second operation seems to have gone

favorably. S. transferred through Prok. Masha believes that the tablets are used by not very needy people (why not take them if they are given), that to avoid misunderstandings it is best to deal with someone who has fallen sick once.... Receipts must go to any assistant pharmacist, who must destroy them." And so on and so forth.

Nonsense, abracadabra? No, a code. "S.," "Prok," and "Masha" are initials and nicknames for fund activists and their couriers who either operated under cover of diplomatic passports or came occasionally to our country as "tourists." The word "operation" has nothing whatever to do with medicine but means a transfer of money or things to a "client." The "tablets" are packets of currency received from abroad. The "sick" are criminals, the "receipts" are their acknowledgments that they have received money, and the "pharmacist" is the fund representative responsible for compiling reports--dispatches to foreign "philanthropists"--on the basis of those receipts. Stolyarova's letters and other fund documents describe how to organize "chance" meetings with foreign diplomats in crowded subway stations and in telephone booths, methods for secretly keeping large sums of currency and anti-Soviet publications received from the West, how to "cut tails," that is, evade surveillance, and so forth. A cheap detective story, and how! And all this was carried out by persons who were passed off by their foreign patrons and guardians as "well known Soviet litterateurs," "scholars," and almost as "public figures...."

We have already said that, although the so-called fund activists advertised themselves as such "ideological opponents of socialism," their "ideological commitment" did not extend so far as not to profit, when the opportunity arose, from inordinately generous foreign donors. New facts attest that the absolute majority of those so-called activists, whom Western propaganda still continues to portray as "disinterested fighters for human rights," were really swindlers. They regarded the fund as a feeding trough filled to the brim with free but very rich broth. Let us recall Ginzburg, the fund's first "manager." Without working anywhere, for many years he lived in clover and repeatedly boasted openly of an "income" from the West, which he even used to acquire his own house. "Ginzburg and his wife Arina," N. Rostombekova, a Tbilisi resident who knew that pair of enterprising slick operators well, testifies, "made very dishonest use of the fund for mercenary purposes, and for a long time they literally leached on those who were sending them money from abroad." Stolyarova, a paraliterary lady allocated the role of a "mailbox" for ties with foreign guardians, did just the same. And how did V.G. Slavutskaya-Magidson, a Moscow resident who took Stolyarova's place, act? A short time after she became a fund activists, her apartment was turned not only into an illegal storehouse for anti-Soviet lampoons but also into a warehouse for expensive things brought with money earmarked for mythical "political prisoners." Not that that is surprising, for just one of the packages which some Western diplomat illegally passed to Slavutskaya contained no less than R15,000...!

However, to be fair, it must be said that with the passage of time the fund's foreign donors, having studied their wards' requests, began increasingly frequently substituting payment in kind for currency handouts: This cost the Western special services considerably less. "For hostile documents illegally sent to the West, which were printed in the anti-Soviet rag POSEV, published by

the NTS (People's Labor Alliance], fund activists received from abroad various packages containing printed matter, tape recorders, and parcels of cloth," V. Kuvakin testifies. Incidentally, N. Rostombekova, who knows well the reigning customs in that milieu, testifies that fierce battles frequently broke out when parcels arriving from the West were shared out.

The Soviet state knows how to defend itself and will continue to do so most efficiently and resolutely. Those circles in the West which are still not abandoning their crazy hopes of succeeding in "shaking" socialism with the help of subversive actions like "Operation Fund" should not forget this.

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SOCIAL ISSUES

NEDELYA VIEWS POSEV MEETING, NTS ACTIVITIES

PM161421 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 8, 23 Feb-1 Mar (signed to press 25 Feb)
87 p 10

[Article by Boris Nikonov under the rubric "Beware of Sabotage": "More About the People's Labor Alliance"]

[Text] A Posev conference--an assemblage of activists from the anti-Soviet Posev publishing house--was held in New York recently, the first time on U.S. soil. The publishing house is the organ of the so-called People's Labor Alliance (NTS), a rabid foreign anti-Soviet organization. Set up before the war by White emigres, the NTS served various foreign intelligence services, then Hitler's Gestapo, and, in recent decades, the CIA. What is the NTS today? Why is it interesting that for the first time the assemblage has taken place in the United States, although, as is well known, Posev is based in West Germany?

Profession--Traitor

Although the Posev conference in New York was chaired by the old bosses of the NTS, everyone now knows that they are quitting the scene. And not just because of age. The former deserters, people who joined the fascist police, goons, and organizers of pogroms have become not only physically decrepit, but also politically useless and superfluous. It is not without reason that Radio Liberty is at pains to conceal its link with the NTS, although they have a common boss--the CIA. Of course, it is not that the "guys from Langley" are shocked by the Gestapo past of the SS old hands. It is just that the CIA has to consider a number of factors that work against the NTS diehards. In the first place is West European public opinion, which on the whole is negatively disposed toward what remains of Hitler's following. And although the NTS is bending over backward to present itself as the political bedfellow of the West European Conservative parties, it is having no success. The Conservatives are shunning the NTS. Only the neofascists have contacts with them, which, of course, does nothing at all to promote the NTS' popularity and respectability.

Second, the CIA is clearly aware of the negative attitude toward the NTS on the part of people who have left the USSR in recent years, allegedly for Israel. Only a few of them have agreed to work with the NTS. By no means everyone who has left the USSR will sit next to an NTS pogrom organizer. Although it does

happen. For example, former member of the Writers Union Mandel, alias Korzhavin, takes his seat at Posev conferences next to V. Poremskiy, who was once said to be an "expert on the Jewish question" in the propaganda apparatus of the Third Reich, and with R. Redlikh, participant in punitive actions on temporarily occupied Soviet territory.

Third, and most important, the NTS, under the leadership of the old SS-recruited diehards has done little or nothing for its Langley bosses. In fact, if you compare expenditure with revenue, the balance is patently not in the CIA's favor. Money goes on maintaining the NTS apparatus, covering Posov losses (most of the issue remain unsold and gather dust in warehouses), paying for all manner of courses and seminars at which the NTS fishers of men pump simpletons who have taken the bait full of anti-Soviet propaganda, and trips to the USSR by citizens from Western countries who will smuggle contraband--leaflets and other NTS "gifts"--in exchange for money. Now what about the revenue, the profit?

Resident Agents, Indeed...

Not to mention the fact that the main official NTS goal--the overthrow of Soviet power (most likely Langley did not believe this either)--was itself not attained, the NTS did not manage to shake our power even a little bit or cause our country any appreciable damage at all.

Of course, in order to justify their existence, the NTS bosses paint a different picture. They insist that the whole of the Soviet Union is covered by a network of "molecular cells" which, on "day X," at a signal from abroad, will join together in a swift torrent and sweep away Soviet power. And what cells they are! Apparently there is an entire city in the USSR where nearly all the inhabitants are in the NTS. Of course, the city's name is a big secret as far as the NTS is concerned. In fact, our whole country is crammed with NTS residents, agents, activists, allies, and sympathizers.... This is what the organization's bosses report to their bosses in the CIA.

In reality, however, the situation on the "domestic front" is quite different. For example, some time ago the NTS jubilantly reported to its U.S. bosses that it had set up a valuable resident name G.Ya. Volodin in the USSR. Prominent NTS man Dzambulatskiy Khatsayev, who had gone over to the enemy at the front during the war, was "working" with him. Using the pseudonym "Yuriy," he corresponded with G.Ya. Volodin over a long period, subjected him to ideological indoctrination, sent money, and instructed him on the use of codes and other espionage devices. What was he expecting of his protege? "We need the addresses," Khatsayev wrote, "of people who could be of interest to the NTS, including people who may have funds."

Volodin was asked about the possibility of setting up an underground printing plant and was told, on receipt of several thousand leaflets from abroad, to carry out some kind of "action" to ensure that the distribution of them "caused an uproar." The world is very eloquent: "Uproar is the pinnacle of NTS aspirations. But Volodin did not organize an "uproar" and neither did he set up a link. The NTS then sent an emissary to him.

A certain Miriam Wechsler called on him masquerading as an Austrian tourist. A former resident of Odessa, she fled with the occupying forces during the war and "worked" for them, and since then she has been in the West. Taking very strict precautions, she supplied Volodin with equipment for cryptography, subversive literature, and money. On her return, Wechsler delighted the NTS leaders by declaring her mission a "success." Alas, they soon learned that each step taken by the emissary had been monitored and G.Ya. Volodin had from the very start been taking the NTS, so to speak, for a ride....

The "resident in Volgograd," I.G. Borisevich, whose "game" with the NTS on instructions from the relevant organs was recently reported in the press, was also a phony one. One could name a number of other honest Soviet people on whom the NTS squandered a lot of effort, time, and money.

But there have been other cases, although extremely rare ones, when the seeds of NTS propaganda have fallen on fertile soil. There is a black sheep in every family....

Naturally, NTS activists prefer to keep away from our borders and, as a rule, use other people to contact the turncoats they have recruited. For example, "couriers" from Britain, Denmark, Italy, and the Netherlands went to see former Writers' Union member Georgiy Vladimov. They brought money, goods, and subversive literature, and took away the filthy pasquinades of a "dissident intellectual."

Yes, such things have happened. Readers may remember newspaper articles and television items about the failures of NTS "couriers." As a rule, these foreigners are not even capable of reading the leaflets which are bound to their legs in hundreds and hidden in clothing, in suitcases with false bottoms, and in secret compartments in automobiles. But it is not only unscrupulous operators trying to make a buck or two who act as "ferryman." There are real enemies among them. Such as, for example, an anti-Soviet and racist) and the Italian antifascist Pascuale Ponzi. All of them, when caught smuggling, immediately confessed and hurriedly told all they knew about the NTS--anything to get released quickly.

Despite all its efforts, the NTS cannot boast of successes. Which does not mean, of course, that there is no need to mention this anti-Soviet hotbed. It should be said that in recent years the NTS has thought up something new. NTS people are trying, in particular, to get to Russians indirectly and through Russians living in various countries they are setting up front organizations to avoid frightening people off with the odious NTS label. Examples of these are the FRG-based "Society for the Protection of Human Rights" and the "German-Russian Society."

Generals Without an Army

The NTS' lack of success is worrying its U.S. bosses. The CIA is now trying to tackle the problem of the "generation changeover" in the NTS. The young members of the present leadership of the alliance are the offspring of emigres and are essentially foreigners (incidentally, they do not always have fluent

Russian). They do not have links with our country and the information they have about it is secondhand. To pass themselves off as "the other Russia," as the White emigres tried to do in the twenties for the benefit of Western public opinion, is an impossibility. And it is these very gentlemen, grouped in the NTS around Yuriy Bruno, who, seeing the older generation's failure, are seeking to convince their CIA bosses that their business should not be leaflets and residents, who often turn out to be honest Soviet people, but terror. [sentence as received] But in this case all anticommunist propaganda's efforts to portray the NTS as a "political entity," as the "opposition" (albeit abroad), or even as an "alternative Russia" are futile.

And who in the NTS is going to take care of the terror? After all, Bruno and company hanker after well-paid leading posts and have no intention of risking their own necks. The renegades who have recently turned up in the West are similarly inclined. They are drawing Americans' attention to the fact that unlike second- and third-generation emigres, they, apparently, know "Soviet reality" because they grew up in the USSR, went to Soviet VUZ's, have good Russian, and are therefore more eligible... for highly paid posts. The renegades do not want to perform a fighting role, either.

Thus, the NTS is faced with a surfeit of "generals" and a shortage of "soldiers." It was that that made the NTS ringleaders look to America. It has the largest population of descendants of old emigres and, generally speaking, those who left the USSR for Israel want to get over there. Enlisting new cadres and abundant funds for the moribund "cause" of the NTS--that was the task faced by the Posev conference in New York.

The conference was publicized in order to get as many Americans with an understanding of Russian as possible to go along. The theme of the conference was "prospects for Change in the Soviet Union." It was not, of course, about the changes currently taking place in our country, but about the insane hope of "dismantling socialism" and replacing it with a "pluralist democracy" and "market economy."

In fact, Posev conferences always talk about this and this alone, and they have been held annually for four decades now. For example, Yu. Voznesenskaya asked the rhetorical question: Why has the NTS not crushed Soviet power yet? And she answered her own question: Because it has underestimated the spirit. R. Redlikh (a former SS man, enough said) sharply objected to this: It's rubbish--spirit and such like; we need action, concrete action. (Note that old Redlikh bakes the young fuhrer Bruno and is an advocate of terror).

Then comes V. Maksimov--he is not an SS man, he a former writer, so he dreams of destroying the odious Soviet power in a different way: "The Soviet system," he said, "can be destroyed by its own weapon, that is, by the word." The conference report by one NTS leader, B. Pushkarev, said that the emphasis must be not so much on encouraging "dissident opinions and different views" in the USSR as on creating an "effective organization of like-minded people by offering alternatives."

The NTS members talked and talked in New York and adopted a vague resolution on stepping up fund-raising activities for new areas of propaganda against the USSR and gathering and analyzing factual material on problems in the USSR, in particular by using official and illegal sources in the Soviet Union. In the light of this, had it been worthwhile organizing the conference in the United States, which is packed to overflowing with Sovietological centers already?

The American Straw

Many natives of our country and their descendants reside in the United States. The vast majority of them are third- and fourth-generation emigres. They are the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the compatriots of ours who went to America from tsarist Russia. Many of them are indifferent to their origins but other maintain a spiritual link with the homeland of their fathers and grandfathers. Most of them feel no enmity toward the USSR, so the NTS' hopes of involving them in anti-Soviet activities are futile. The same generally applies to the descendants of White Emigres and those who migrated during World War II.

Of course, some members of these groups are hostile toward the USSR. It is certainly true also that if an inhabitant of the United States wants to engage in anti-Soviet activity there is every opportunity for it there. There are people in that country who will raise funds and recruit cadres for crusades against communism, so the NTS has not ended up in a barren spot.

Incidentally, the NTS has tried before to play a definite role in the political and social life of "Russophone" Americans. NTS people tried to conduct their own propaganda and organized subscriptions to Posev publications. That was in the church of Saint Vladimir in Caswell. But, as has been reported in the press, Posev did not go to the United States and the NTS did not meet with a response in that country.

It is appropriate to add here that by no means all the anti-Sovietists are inclined to support the NTS. For instance, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists --followers of Bandera--are hostile to the NTS people as "all or nothing" types intent on "taking over" the country. But the nationalists would prefer to dismember the country and therefore they call the NTS the "sixth column of Russian imperialism."

In that case, on whom is the NTS pinning its hopes in America? Judging by the speeches at the Posev conference in New York, the NTS is mainly addressing those who left the USSR for Israel in recent years, but found their "promised land" in the United States. As is known, most of these "new Americans" set out across the ocean in the vain hope of getting rich. That is how they are described by the U.S. bourgeois press, that is the way they are represented in the U.S. documentary "Yesterday's People," which was shown on our Central Television. Perhaps the NTS will manage to squeeze a few dollars out of these people, but they are unlikely to become "soldiers" under the command of NTS "generals."

The task of "politically activating" all these "yesterday's people" is apparently a futile one. And the effort involved in organizing the Posev conference on the other side of the Atlantic was a futile one.

SOCIAL ISSUES

REINSTATEMENT OF SACKED KAZAKH TEACHER CRITICIZED

PM 271529

[Editorial Report] Moscow TRUD in Russian 17 January 1987 carries on page 2 under the headline "Classroom Incident" a 1,700-word article by Natalya Gellert, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee, machine operator at the Amangelda Sovkhoz, and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Standing Commission for Women's Work and Leisure Issues and the Protection of Motherhood and Childhood, on the reinstatement of a sacked Kazakh teacher. The teacher--Sauytbek Zhantayev--had been dismissed for kicking a pupil, but subsequently, Gellert writes, "some unseen forces" came into play and Zhantayev was reinstated into the party. The republic newspaper SOTSIALISTIK KAZAKHSTAN then featured an article full of "ardent sympathy" for him. Gellert "would not have believed that facts could be distorted and assessments removed to such an extent." Zhantayev continues to work in the same school, while the parents of the boy who was kicked moved to another oblast. Gellert finds that this is an example of something about which she often receives complaints, namely that "idle talk and demagoguery often hamper the cause of restructuring and the renovation of our life." She states: "We are restructuring and clearing the garbage from our house, but our efforts will be in vain and fail to bring about the joys of renovation, if we do not learn to live in that house on the basis of justice...." Noting that this year the Tselinograd Obkom has been renewed, she concludes: "I would like to believe that the obkom will return to this question and find a principled approach to it."

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SOCIAL ISSUES

MORE AID URGED FOR MOTHERS WITH MANY CHILDREN

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 7 December 1986 carries on page 3 a 1,600-word article by Sh. Nuryyev entitled "An Important Aspect of Social Policy" concerning the needs of women with many children. Noting that the Turkmen birthrate is "sufficiently high," he points out that "this situation of having many children, which is typical in our republic, creates certain problems. For example, there are still not enough preschool children's administrations, children's clinics, and service sector support. The level of drawing women into social production is also inadequate. Thus in the next 5-year plan more than 35,000 places will be added to preschool children's administrations, public health will undergo further development, and the network of medical administrations will be widened."

'BRIDE PRICE' TRADITION CONTINUES IN TURKMENIA

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen on 24 December 1986 carries on page 3 a 1,300-word article by Gurbanjemal Ylyasova, member of the scientific methodology council for the conduct of work with women of the USSR Bilim Society, bearing the title "Toward a Life Without Bride Price." She asks rhetorically: "The bride price is one of the most harmful remnants coming from distant times in the minds of men. Turkmen progressive literature, folklore, and similar art forms have conducted a consistent struggle against this useless remnant for years. Despite this, we have not succeeded in extirpating it. Why?!" She points out that "in the question of bride price a fundamental factor lies within the girls themselves. An acquisitive psychology is strong in some of them"; she adds that "at present, this acquisitive psychology is characteristic of the mentality of some female students. When they enter life, they insist on a bride price for themselves."

TUSSR TEACHERS' UNIONS URGED TO USE AUTHORITY

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen on 5 December 1986 carries on page 1 a 1,000-word lead editorial headlined "The Most Massive Organization" on the activities of trade unions, especially those operating in schools. "If you were to ask whether every trade union committee were using the rights given to it, it would be impossible to receive yes for an answer. Some trade union committees are not examining study and educational work

deeply. They act passively in preventing incorrect activities by school leaders. Some school leaders, exploiting the passiveness of public organizations, allow themselves arbitrary actions. They do not refrain from viewing questions pertaining to school life as personal issues." One consequence of this is that teachers are given unbalanced teaching loads at the cost of the subjects they teach. Another consequence is that many schools still lack cafeterias or buffets. The editorial makes the point that if trade union committees shouldered their responsibilities, the shortcomings cited above would be eliminated.

PROGRESS IN TURKMEN SCHOOL REFORM 'UNSATISFACTORY'

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen on 3 December 1986 carries on page 1 a 1,000-word lead editorial headlined "Reform and the Pedagogical Collective." It complains that "taken as a whole, the implementation of school reform is unsatisfactory." Examination of the reform's progress in a number of oblasts revealed that the "limited understanding" of reform objectives by teachers' collectives was the reason for the lack of progress. "This situation is a consequence of the fact that members of our pedagogical collectives have been unable to focus their attention on the implementation of school reform." The criticism, involving most aspects of the reform, is directed primarily at schools in Ashkhabad, Tashauz and Krsnovodsk Oblsts.

SHORTCOMINGS IN TURKMEN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM HIGHLIGHTED

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen on 14 December 1986 carries on page 1 a 1,300-word lead editorial headlined "Let's Prepare for the Teachers' Congress" enumerating current problems faced by Turkmenistan's education system. First, there is a shortage of teaching cadres in a number of subjects: physical education, music, mathematics, physics, and chemistry. Where this occurs, courses are taught by non-specialists. Second, school inventories--from books to buildings--are not being replaced or are in short supply. Third, student classroom participation is poor, especially in night and rural schools. Fourth, many schools still lack cafeterias or buffets. Finally, the editorial claims that "the fact that the level of knowledge of many students is low shows that teachers are doing their jobs poorly. Students' writing habits in both Turkmen and Russian are especially weak."

RUSSIAN TEACHING IN TURKMEN NATIONAL SCHOOLS FOUND WANTING

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen on 24 December 1986 carries on page 2 a 1,500-word article by V. A. Koshelchenkova, an official in the department for teaching Russian language and literature in national schools of the TuSSR Ministry of Education; the article's title is "Teaching Spoken Russian." Koshelchenkova notes that "I recently had to take part in a TuSSR Ministry of Education brigade in my official capacity to analyze and

evaluate the teaching of Russian language and literature in national schools" and proceeds to enumerate a series of "typical shortcomings." These are: the student in an average classroom has the opportunity to speak Russian "less than 1 minute a day"; in a number of schools teachers come to class "unprepared"; students' independent work is unsatisfactorily organized; teachers' methodology is poor, i.e., students' errors are merely passed over without being corrected. She points out that this problem will be discussed more fully in forthcoming issues of RUSSKIY YAZYK I LITERATURA V TURKMENSKOY SHKOLE.

TuSSR: HIGH TEACHER TURNOVER AROUSES CONCERN

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen on 31 December 1986 carries on page 3 a 3,900-word round table discussion on the subject of "The beginning: the life and work of the young specialist" highlighting problems confronted by teachers of Russian and the sciences in the rural rayon of Gyzylarbat. One of the participants said that a fundamental problem is the following: "Let's say a worker operates a machine in a factory. Any other worker could operate the same machine in his place. But in teaching, this situation is impermissible. Sometimes young specialists will leave the place they work to return home before the year is out, or they find some other excuse to quit the job." He adds that "the constant turnover of teachers has a great effect on both study-educational work and the children. It destroys work planning. Wherever there is high specialist turnover, educational work is organized at a low level." All participants agreed that a primary cause for the turnover of teachers of specialized subjects is poor housing.

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SOCIAL ISSUES

VODKA TRADE IN MAGADAN CEMETERY ENDS IN MURDER

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jan 87 p 6

[Article by R. Bikmukhametov, IZVESTIYA correspondent in Magadan, under the rubric "Report with a Bias": "Fantastic Sums"]

[Text] One night in January three shots shattered the quiet of a snow-covered Magadan cemetery. And within moments they had roused the sleeping city. The entire staff of the city militia unit were alerted, as well as the oblast Internal Affairs Administration and the prosecutor's office. Internal Affairs Administration chief V. Khovtorin, who headed up the operation, directed his main efforts toward apprehending the criminal. At the same time it was reported that he was armed with a rifle and more than 20 cartridges...

Meanwhile, in the cemetery's cramped joiner's shop the murder victims -- musician D. Savranskiy, who was employed by the bureau of funeral services, and joiner V. Denisenko -- lay on the floor in unnatural positions. A. Povarnitsin, a stoker and an eyewitness to the tragedy who had barely escaped with his life, could provide no coherent account of what had happened. But the militia and the prosecutor's office got their first clue while questioning the approximately 10 individuals who were mysteriously present at the cemetery that night.

It turned out that at 11 pm a powerfully-built young man accompanied by freight loader A. Spichka had arrived at the cemetery, driven by taxi driver S. Gvozdovskiy. The latter recalled that he had seen the young man before at the taxi garage. On this basis the suspect was identified as I. Baranov, a former taxi driver. According to the testimony of eyewitnesses, he was very drunk and highly agitated. He burst into the joiner's shop and, seeing Savranskiy and Denisenko, shouted:

"Oh, you're here, are you? Well, I'll be back soon..."

About 20 minutes later Baranov reappeared at the cemetery, this time carrying a rifle. He forced his way into the joiner's shop and loudly ordered:

"Up against the wall! I've come to settle accounts!"

the laborers and V. Zaytsev, their experienced brigade leader. Incidentally, in Magadan these people are sometimes called "golden boys."

The victims themselves have recounted how such fantastic sums are earned at the cemetery, or rather how people are robbed in their time of grief.

Yuriy Konstantinovich Khmelev, a worker with 33 years' service in the North, has held various positions of responsibility on the Chukotskiy Peninsula and along the Kolyma. More than a year has passed now since the unexpected death of his son, and time has somewhat healed the deep wound in this veteran's heart. Nevertheless it was difficult for me to talk with him.

"Don't worry, don't worry, I understand what you are trying to do," he reassured me. "I will tell you everything. These are dangerous people, without the slightest morals, capable of any lowdown trick. And that makes it all the more important that they be exposed for what they are..."

Very briefly, what happened was this. V. Zaytsev demanded 300 rubles for a "good" place in the cemetery from Khmelev's friends, who were handling the sad arrangements for the funeral, but it turned out that he was asking the wrong people. They set the robber straight on that score. But at the last moment, when the help of the laborers was needed to carry the coffin containing the deceased from the hearse to the grave, the laborers exacted their own fee: five bottles of vodka.

And just recently, Yuriy Konstantinovich told me, good friends of his, employees of the 2nd Magadan Aviation Unit (Yuriy Konstantinovich named names, but I will not reveal them at this time) arranged their mother's funeral. Once again it was Zaytsev who managed to take 350 rubles and several bottles of vodka from the brothers. V. Starchenko, a Magadan resident, was shaken down twice: at the funeral of her husband and of her brother...

Khmelev gave one other graphic illustration. It turned out that he was closely acquainted with the father of one of the employees of the funeral bureau. He tried to shame the employee and get him to break away from this "mafia," as he called it.

"I make 150-200 rubles a day off the dead. If I ever breathed a word about it, I would automatically get thrown out of my cushy job. And that's the best thing that could happen to me," the employee replied.

So, is there no way to bring these "golden boys" to justice? Judging by the behavior of V. Lezhepekov, head of the bureau of funeral services, during my interview with him, there is not. He did not meet my eyes, wriggling like a snake and avoiding direct answers to my questions. He was eager to talk about Savranskiy and Denisenko. He agreed: they probably had been extorting vodka, and perhaps money as well, from relatives of the deceased. They would gather at the cemetery in order to play cards or [nardy] and drink. But as soon as the conversation turned to Zaytsev and his underlings, he immediately changed the subject. He claimed to know nothing, to have heard nothing, nor had he seen any signs. Why is it, I asked, that virtually all funeral arrangements are made through the laborers' brigade leader? Well, he replied, because he,

Lezhepekov, did not have time to handle all that personally, and there was no overseer, because the salary was too low. Incidentally, he said, the laborers also earned only a small salary. However, there has been no employee turnover in that brigade in recent years.

"Yes," the director proudly agreed, "and we have such great guys working for us: young, strong, some of them, you know, are even accomplished athletes..."

I saw one of those "athletes." Aleksandr Likhushin burst into his boss' office: a dandy, dressed in the latest fashions, wearing an imported double-breasted suit, with dazzling gold rings and signets on his fingers. Without a word of greeting he rudely interrupted our conversation and literally screamed his demands in Lezhepekov's face. The "boss" merely apologized.

The exact same scene was repeated in the auxiliary building where the boiler room and joiner's shop are located. Just like on that tragic night, a little table covered with empty bottles, glasses, tumblers and sausage skins stood there; the thoroughly plastered stoker was hurling filthy epithets about, not caring who heard him. I was once again astounded by the total impotence on the part of the director of that institution...

In any case I am certain that only complete confidence in their immunity could give these con men such a free hand to turn the cemetery into their golden goose, a haven for numerous shady characters with highly dubious reputations, into a nighttime vodka store operating almost completely openly.

No, it was no coincidence that those shots rang out at the Magadan cemetery. The situation which existed there had to explode one way or another. This is how I. Baranov himself explains the situation: several months ago, when he was driving the usual load of clients to the "store," he was met by the musician Savranskiy, who demanded 2,000 rubles, which Baranov had allegedly lost playing cards. Some time later the debt was mentioned again, and threats made, saying "you know us, Baranov..."

I have no doubt that the investigation will prove conclusively where Baranov got the rifle and what the motives for his crime were. But even today it is clear what was primarily responsible for this tragedy: unearned money, cards and vodka.

Did the city militia unit and the gorispolkom know about what was going on at the cemetery? They did. Perhaps they did not see the whole picture, but there were aware of certain facts, because there had been warning signals and letters. Furthermore, as came out in the course of my interviews with individuals involved, some law enforcement officers gave the robbers money and liquor in the same situation. They requested out of embarrassment that I not publish their names...

"Nevertheless I am confident that the untoward goings-on at the cemetery are only one round," I was told by B. Piskarev, Magadan Oblast prosecutor and criminologist. "In place of today's swindlers there will be others tomorrow, and they will behave in exactly the same way, except that, armed with the experience of their predecessors, they will be robbing people more subtly and

skillfully. We need to eliminate the causes which give rise to this phenomenon."

It is impossible not to agree with the prosecutor. The bureau of funeral services has been completely neglected by the Magadan Gorispolkom, just like everything else connected with this sad but inevitable ritual. I could cite a great deal of evidence which would bear that out, but I will mention only one fact: the bureau of funeral services is not even under the jurisdiction of the city municipal services committee, but rather under that of the city's department of highways, a service which is run by a highway engineer. What happens when non-vital detail get ignored is that burials in an oblast capital fall under the unsupervised control of four laborers.

This pitiful scene can also be witnessed in other cities and villages in Magadan Oblast. Facts which I have at my disposal are evidence that swindlers are also in charge of burials in other places as well. In Anadyr, for example. And in Bilibino a completely bizarre incident occurred. One time coroners came to do an investigation, and discovered that the local morgue... was not there. A drunken guard had sold the morgue to someone for 300 rubles. And, when you think about it, is that surprising? The morgue was housed in an ordinary shed on a wooden sled.

I also heard the following comment: well, we are talking about the Far North, and everyone knows that things there are a little more disorderly than elsewhere. Which is true. It is the North, and it is disorderly. But how long are we going to conceal the inertia, carelessness and indifference of those who are responsible by job description and irresponsible in fact by citing conditions in the North? And whose interests does that serve? The robbers and swindlers, it would seem.

As I learned in interviews with responsible ispolkom staff members, the militia and the prosecutor's office had long known of the unsavory goings-on at the Magadan cemetery. What is more, three years ago an official from the Department for Combatting Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation began to "unearth" this dirty business. But one fine day his car was stolen, severely smashed up, and a note left behind: "Don't stick your nose in where it doesn't belong..." And the official backed off.

And now things have escalated to shooting and an obvious felony.

Letters to the editor confirm that order has not been established at the cemetery yet. Extortion (a vile thing in itself) has become widespread around here. Monsters with atrophied consciences are extorting money from those who are already burdened with grief and are often incapable of resisting! These infamous acts take place at the time which is most difficult for us. There is no justification whatsoever for such occurrences. There is no reasonable explanation and, unfortunately, thus far no one is safe from forced contact with the con men described in this article. Only strict supervision by the ispolkoms of soviets and by all law enforcement organs can keep us from meeting up with the "golden boys."

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REGIONAL ISSUES

FAULTY EDUCATION SYSTEM BLAMED FOR KAZAKH RIOTS

PM161131 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 10 Jan 87 p 2

[Article by Kaltay Mukhamedzhanov, first secretary of the board of the Kazakhstan Union of Cinematographers, under the rubric "We Are the Offspring of October:" "One Motherland For All"]

[Excerpts] During those anxious December days in Alma-Ata I saw for myself that some VUZ and technical college students have a very shaky and muddled knowledge of Kazakh and USSR history. In the streets and hostels I met with young Kazakhs who had been led astray by nationalist troublemakers. I talked with them while the events were still fresh. Some young men flared up, involving me in a "keen dialogue," and asked me questions about nationalities policy and internationalist education, and in so doing displayed a shocking ignorance--in educational, political, and cultural terms.

This was a disgrace for those students, their schoolteachers, VUZ teachers, and for us masters of the arts, the standard-bearers of the ideological front. We are proud of that name. But unfortunately, it must be admitted that we, too, sometimes become bogged down in the labyrinth of pseudo-innovation and pseudo-entertainment and the creative artist himself finds it difficult to get through to "his own people." And the more talented he is, the more dangerous are such forays into nowhere. Particularly when researching national and inter-nation problems, historical and contemporary problems. We have no artistic or civic right to indulge in homespun and dubious sociolinguistic research or to claim "discoveries."

The artistic culture of socialism is the product of October. It plays the leading role in educating Soviet man and in molding such features of his personality as patriotism and internationalism. It must now be said honestly that artists are not always equal to that task, deluding themselves into thinking that our contemporaries imbibe all their revolutionary ideas and traditions in their mothers' milk. Some writers and moviemakers have forgotten how to talk and think about society's fundamental problems.

The continuity of the generations under socialism, considered in dialectical terms, does not exclude contradictions between them. And it should be remembered that the history of building socialism has known attempts to use those contradictions not for the purposes of progress but for struggle against our ideology and to undermine socialist building. Such was the case in the 1920's, when the Trotskiyites sought support among young people and exploited their inexperience and social immaturity. Nationalists of various types have

also tried to exploit young people for mercenary, antisocial purposes at different stages of history.

We, the representatives of the older generation, were astounded to find that even now some young people have succumbed to the influence of nationalist troublemakers. Without trying to exonerate those young people (18-20 year olds are not children, not little girls or boys any more!), we must speak honestly about the moral and ideological atmosphere that has been formed in the republic in recent years. The discrepancy between the ostentatious reports and the economic reality has resulted in losses of millions of rubles for the state and the people. The discrepancy between words and deeds has a harmful effect on people's spirits, particularly young people. From different rostrums, for example, numerous speeches have been delivered on the friendship of the peoples. But in life and practice, people have sometimes closed their eyes to manifestations of incipient nationalist feelings. For example, books with a highly dubious content were published in small print runs. Passions were roused over the number of Russian and Kazakh schools. But the prime concern should be for the quality of teaching in both the former and the latter. In particular, for the standard of Russian language teaching in Kazakh schools. In many schools, particularly in the countryside, Russian lessons are simply terrible. As a result, secondary school leavers who have received their certificate cannot enter a VUZ in Moscow or Leningrad, for example, because of their poor knowledge of Russian.

A knowledge of two languages in the republic in our age is the essential minimum. For writers and moviemakers from the fraternal republics the Russian language is a solid means of access to the all-union and the international arena. Although aware of all this, we perhaps do not think it through sufficiently even for ourselves and thus do not explain it convincingly enough. The poet and teacher Abay--the first [Kazakh] translator of Pushkin--urged Kazakhs to learn Russian back in his day. When the great Russian writer visited the Kazakh steppes he took an interest in folklore. He asked for a Russian translation of the legend of the Kazakh Romeo and Juliet--the story of Kozy-Korpesh and Bayan-Slu. Dostoyevskiy was keenly interested in the work of the Kazakh scientist and educator Chokan Valikhanov and wrote to him: "I love you like a brother." The democrat and educator I. Altynsarin was a convinced and active organizer of Russian-Kazakh schools.

There are people from over 100 nationalities living and working in Soviet Kazakhstan today. Is this not fertile soil for international education and for strengthening the fraternity of the peoples! Every new stage of history requires new approaches and new solutions. In Kazakhstan it is necessary thoroughly to analyze the situation in all spheres of the economy and ideology. Undoubtedly, fundamental changes must be made to social science teaching in schools and VUZ's.

When speaking about young people's revolutionary education, V.I. Lenin, as is well known, insisted that it was necessary to give it every kind of help and to correct its mistakes without fail, primarily by persuasion. Lenin's instruction, augmented by the practical experience of socialism, is relevant in our day, too. Today, writers and masters of arts must make their contribution primarily in creative work. We are pledged, as the most sacred

legacy, to pass on to young people our international experience and our innermost conviction that Soviet people have always been and will always be internationalists. This has been, is, and will for all time, be the basis on which the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stands.

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